Evangelium Armatum,

A Specimen; or Short

COLLECTION

Of ſeveral Doctrines and Poſitions
deſtructive to our

GOVERNMENT

BOTH

CIVIL and ECCLESIASTICAL;

Preached and Vented

By the known Leaders and Abetters of the pretended REFORMATION, ſuch as,

Mr. *Calamy.*	Mr. *Baxter.*
Mr. *Jenkins.*	Mr. *Caryll.*
Mr. *Caſe.*	Mr. *Marſhall.*

And Others, *&c.*

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CHRISTOPHER LOVE.

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ADONIRAM BYFIELD.

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THE PREFACE TO THE READER:

AT this notable ſeaſon and great criſis both of Church and State, in which Parties are ſo high, Factions ſo reſtleſs, and Diſcontents ſo general, I know none ſo likely a means to reſettle and confirm our ſhaking Fabrick, as to diſabuſe the People, and to redeem their Underſtandings from a Captivity to thoſe guides, who have Preached and Lectured them into theſe miſeries and confuſions. I have obſerved, though it be true Piety alone that muſt ſave men, yet it is the ſhew and pretence of Piety that governs them. A maxim ſo verified by the late tranſactions among us, that the great Baſis and groundwork of all the Villany that has been acted upon the ſtage of theſe miſerable Kingdoms, has been to beget and fix in the People this Belief, that the great Deſign drove on by the Actors of it, was the ad-

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vancement of the Purity of Religion, and the Power of godlineſs. So that the People were brought at length to digeſt Civil War, the cutting of Throats, wreſting away Eſtates, and the Murder and Baniſhment of Princes, ſo long as all this was called Reformation But ſince it is not imaginable, how men could quit the firſt infuſions of honeſt education, and debauch the known Principles of Nature and Religion, ſo as not at firſt to tremble and ſtart at theſe Villanies, it follows that they muſt needs have been inſenſibly wrought up to them by ſome predominant Perſwaſion, that by degrees leſſened, and at length totally ſubdued thoſe preconceived Dictates of Nature and Religion to a compliance with ſuch Practices: And this was no other than a blind and Furious Opinion of the extraordinary Piety of thoſe Teachers, who pretending more intimate acquaintance with God, and immediate poſſeſſion by his Spirit, as Plenipotentiary Commiſſioners, and Embaſſadors from Almighty God, animated the People to the late Rebellion. And ſtill they endeavour to captivate their Pity, by a bold and impudent inſinuation of theſe two things, That they are the People of God, and That they are perſecuted. For experience ſhews that the Opinion of Perſecution naturally moves men to Pity, and Pity preſently turns into Love, and whom men love, they are eaſily brought to defend. But I doubt not to any unprejudiced Reader ſo to diveſt them of theſe pretences, and ſtripping them of their ſheeps cloathing to repreſent them as naked as Truth, & as deformed as Error & Seduction. For the firſt of theſe, Their being the People of God. I demand whether true Piety is conſiſtent with the known abetment of Principles and Practices directly contrary to the law of Nature, and the word of God: and then whether the Preaching taking up Arms, and raiſing a War againſt our Lawfull Prince, be not a ſin deeply dyed with

with both theſe Qualifications. That the latter of theſe is undeniable, and the former juſtly chargeable upon them, let the enſuing Syſtem of Principles *ſpeak, which they vented from the Pulpit, and their Auditors Commented upon by all the hideous maſſacres ſince acted by them in the ſtrength of thoſe* Doctrines *and aſſertions. I ſay, let men impartially read them over and ſee, Whether that Religion can be called* Pure, *that is ſo far from* Peaceable. *And for a further Teſt of their Piety; I demand Whether an* Oath *be not the moſt ſacred and dreadfull Obligation that can be faſtned upon the Conſcience of man: and whether their Oath of* Allegiance *were not ſuch an one? upon which Conceſſions, I demand further, what ſtrain of Piety could warrant theſe Miniſters to ſend their Congregations (as the chief of them did) with full diſcharge from the Bonds of that Oath, to wage war againſt their King? what Prerogative in Religion could authoriſe them to obtrude an Oath and Covenant contradictory to their former Oaths, upon thoſe Conſciences, that groaned with horror and reluctancy under the ſenſe of their former Obligations? Till they can here either deny the matter of Fact, which has been writ in Characters of bloud legible to all the World; or can reconcile theſe matters of Fact to Chriſtianity, I demand of them in the preſence of* God *and man, what account they will give before the great Tribunal of God for having with ſo much ſolemnity of Prayer, ſhew of Piety, and profeſſion of Zeal, deceived the People into theſe execrable practices, enough to ſtink the* Proteſtant *name out of the World; and what excuſe the clear light of Reaſon, and of the Word, can leave to thoſe who reſigned themſelves up to be deceived by them? But as the Conſcience being once broken up, eaſily lyes open to any after Breach: So they having deflowred it with the firſt perjury of the* Covenant, *ſtuck*

not much at the Engagement, a Promiſe as contradictory to the Covenant, as the Covenant it ſelf had been to their Oaths of Allegiance and Canonical obedience: and laſtly their recogniſing and doing homage to Cromwell, who had ſetled himſelf with the Power, though not the Title of King, and with an Houſe of Lords, ſeemed no leſs to throw off, and contradict their Engagement. We ſee here the compaſs of their Religious ſwallow. All oaths could down with them, but none hold them: out of all which they could with the greateſt facility find a way to creep forth, and interpret away the obligation of an Oath, as eaſily, as if it were an Act of Parliament. But the only thing theſe thorough-paced ſwearers at length ſtick at, is the Subſcription lately required by Law, made and enacted by Parliament, and confirmed by the Royal aſſent, that is, by all the legiſlative Power this Nation owns. This they cannot ſubſcribe to: why? becauſe they cannot renounce an Oath impoſed by part of a Rebell Parliament, without, and againſt the Royal aſſent, and by which they ſwore off all former lawfull Oaths, binding themſelves to proſecute that Rebellious War. This they will not, they cannot renounce; and therefore deſire only for a while to be diſpenced with, and Indulged, till they come to be in a capacity once more to put it in Execution. How far Perſons owning ſuch an obligation, and venting ſuch maxims and Doctrines as are here faithfully and truely repreſented out of their printed Sermons, are like to advance, or perhaps at all to comport with, the Peace of the Kingdom, is left to the ſerious Conſideration of thoſe, with whom the preſervation of that Peace is entruſted, & whoſe Prudence being alarm'd with ſuch ſpiritual fire-balls, will (we hope) begin to look about, & to diſtinguiſh between Conſcience & Contempt. If any ſhould now plead their being inſtrumental to the reduction of his Majeſty, for their vindication from the

the charge of these assertions, too notorious to be denyed, and too impious to be defended; though I could answer, that I am not at all beholding to a Chirurgeon *for setting that leg, which he himself first put out of joynt: yet I desire them to remember that they never attempted the Restauration of his Majesty, till they were visibly in the very jaws of the* Fanaticks, *who were then seizing upon their Tythes and Churches, the last morsell of the spiritual Revenue; so that it is shrewdly to be suspected, that had not the Tythe-pig cryed lowder in their ears, than either their* Conscience, *or the* word *of God, they had never been awakened to attempt that, which since it has been effected, so many of them have not obscurely repented of. And so much may suffice to answer their Pretences to* Piety, *and the power of Godliness. To their next plea,* that they are now persecuted, *I shall only make this reply; That I desire the World to take notice, that those Persons, who turned almost all out of their livings, that adhered to their lawfull Soveraign; who sent such, with their Wives and Families a begging, as durst not deflower their Consciences with down-right Perjury; and having sworn* Canonical Obedience *to the most Reformed Church in the world, durst not by a contrary Oath, swear and endeavour its extirpation. Those also who procured that murdering* Order *from a bloudy Tyrant and Usurper, that every* Episcopal *Divine should not only be uncapable of a Benefice, but also disabled to exercise any act of his ministerial Function, as Preaching, Baptizing, or the like, nor yet suffered to get some little subsistence by teaching School: no, nor lastly to live in any Gentlemans house, who out of Pity might take him in to keep him from Starving. All which are such unheard-of Instances of barbarous Tyranny, that the Spight of the Heathen* Neros, Diocle-sians, Julians, (*all circumstances considered*) *was much inferiour to*

them.

them. Now, I ſay, I deſire the World to take notice, that thoſe who were partly the Authors, partly the Procurers of theſe hideous, remorſeleſs Actions, are thoſe poor, gentle, ſuffering Lambs of Chriſt that now bleat out Perſecution. *Having thus anſwered their pleas, or rather their Noiſe, I ſhall in a word or two give an account of the following book. It preſents us firſt with a ſhort Collection of the Sayings and* Doctrines *of the great Leaders and Abetters of the Presbyterian Reformation, of their pious and peaceable* maxims, *which like razors ſet with oyl, cut the throat of* Majeſty *with ſo keen a ſmoothneſs: and then to bring up the rear of this ſpiritual Brigade, and withall, to ſhew further, that the cauſe of our* Church *is ſo united to that of the* Crown, *that the ſame who malign one, ſtrike as boldly at the other, I have thought fit to bring the* Papiſts *and the* Hobbians *upon the ſame Stage, as venting Doctrines no leſs pernicious to the Civil, than to the Eccleſiaſtical State. For a teſtimony of which, I have here given a Taſte of each of them: of the firſt, out of Mr.* White: *of the ſecond, out of the Author of the* Leviathan, *and great Propagator of the Kingdom of Darkneſs. I ſelected the writings of Mr.* White, *as being the moſt Compendious and effectual way of Probation. For if He who writes, and pretends enmity againſt the* Jeſuites, *for being Diſturbers of the Peace of States and Kingdoms, and underminers of the Prerogative of Kings, and ſo by this, catches at the reputation of being moderate; I ſay, if this Perſon ſhall yet be found a peſtilent aſſertor of ſuch* maxims *as eat out the Rights and Titles of all lawfull Princes, then let men take an eſtimate of their known Treaſons and King-killing Doctrines, from the Poyſon and Virulence of their very moderation. And therefore I earneſtly entreat the Reader diligently to peruſe that Paragraph that exhibits to him*

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the collection of Mr. Whites *Principles. I have this now in the laſt place to add, that the Reader muſt not here expect a full reherſal of theſe mens Doctrines, but only a Taſte, or Specimen. He that can endure the raking of Dunghils longer than I can, let him have recourſe to their Writings, let him lanch out into the Ocean of the Presbyterian Pamphlets and Sermons, an Ocean in which the Papiſts may ſee the face of their diſloyal Doctrines, as in a Glaſs, and in which the Leviathan himſelf may ſport, and take his paſtime.*

There ſeems to be a more than ordinary Significance in that Saying of the Prophet, that Rebellion is as the ſin of Witchcraft, *and that, I conceive, not only for its equal malignity, but alſo for its peculiar Analogy and cognation: for if we reflect upon the late Inſtances of it amongſt our Selves, we ſhall find that the People could never be brought to Rebell, till their Preachers had firſt Bewitched them. But I hope the World will be ſo far unbewitched, as to read this* Collection, *with their* farewell-Sermons *lately printed together, and expoſed to ſale with ſo much Oſtentation: Of which I ſhall ſay this, that they may very properly be called* Fare-well-Sermons, *ſince experience is like to manifeſt, that their Con-gregations never* fared *ſo* well, *as when ſuch Seducers preached their Laſt.*

THE

Pag. 22. HE Lords and Commons are as the Maſter of the Houſe.

2. The Parliament whom the people chuſe are the great and only Conſervators of the peoples liberties.

p. 38. They are the chief Magiſtrate, *Cuſtodes & vindices utriuſq; tabulæ*, p. 37. for they are the Miniſters of God for good, and revengers to execute wrath upon him that does evill, *Rom.* 13. 4. (which being by Saint *Paul* expreſsly ſpoken of the Higheſt Powers, he applies to that part of the two Houſes that ſat at *Weſtminſter*, without, nay, againſt the Kings command.)

p. 9. That all thoſe that fought under the Kings banner, againſt this Parliament, fought themſelves into ſlavery, and did endeavour by all bloudy and treacherous waies to ſubvert Religion and Liberties.

p. 12. That the King, that ſhould have been a head of gold, was an iron head to cruſh its own body in pieces.

p. 18. Thoſe that made their peace with him at *Oxford* (by returning to their Loyaltie,) were *Judaſſes* of *England*, and it were juſt with God to give them their portion with *Judas*.

p. 13. Thoſe that ingaged in this Cauſe, and in the Covenant (which was an oath for their goods,) were unjuſtly charged with Rebellion.

p. 38. That it was Gods cauſe, and it ſhall prevail at laſt.

p. 29. That it is commendable to fight for Peace and Reformation, againſt the Kings command.

Theſe are Mr. *Calamies* Doctrines in his Sermon preached before the Lords, *Dec.* 25. 1644. printed by (*chriſtopher Meredith* by his own appointment; directly contrary to St. *Peter*, who tells us, that *the King is the Supreme*, and not any one, or two Houſes of Parliament without him; contrary to St. *Paul*, who tells us, that whoſoever (ſeverally, or conjunctly) ſhall reſiſt, much more that ſhall fight againſt this Higheſt Power, reſiſt the ordinance of God, and ſhall receive damnation; and contrary to our oath of Allegiance, wherein we acknowledge the King, to be *the only Supreme Governour* of this Nation.

Mr. Jenkins Theſes *out of his humble Petition, when he was Priſoner; Printed* Octob. 15. 1651.

1. THat the Parliament of the Common Wealth of *England* without the King, 1651. were the Supreme Authority of this Nation.

2 That Gods providences, (that is, his permiſſion of events and ſucceſs) are antecedent declarations of his good will and approbation.

3 That the providences of God as evidently appeared in removing the King, and then inveſting their Honours with the Government of this Nation, as ever they appeared in the taking away, or beſtowing of any Government in any Hiſtory of any age of the World.

4 That a refuſal to be ſubject to this Authority, under the pretence of upholding the Title of any one upon earth, is a refuſal to acquieſce in the wiſe and righteous pleaſure of God, ſuch an oppoſing of the Government ſet up by the Soverein Lord of Heaven and Earth, as none can have peace, either in acting in, or ſuffering for.

5 That it is our duty to yield to this Authority all active and chearfull obedience in the Lord, even for conſcience ſake.

Mr. Marſhal *Serm. on* Pſ. 102. *v.* 16, 17. March 26. 1645.

P. 39. 1. THoſe in Authority, in things of this life, have command, and may act *ad modum imperii*; In matters of Religion, all their power is *ad modum miniſterii*, they muſt not diſpoſe of the affairs of the Church, but at the direction of the Word only.

2 They are limited to the *Word*, and men under their Authority, muſt, before they obey their orders, examine them by the *Word*, and find them both lawfull and expedient in their uſe for edification.

p. 41. 3. As *Joſia* put to death thoſe that followed *Baal*, ſo may the Parliament thoſe, that will not return to the Lord, and leave Antichriſtianiſm.

p. 45. That Antichriſtianiſm that was ſworn in the Covenant to be rooted out (was the eſtabliſhed Government in the Church.)

Mr. Ed-

Mr. Edmund Calamies *Speech at* Guild-Hall, *October the ſixth*, 1643.

Gentlemen,

YOU have heard a worthy Gentleman of the Houſe of Commons, it is deſired by this grave and Reverend *Aſſembly* of *Miniſters*, that *three* of the Miniſters of this *Aſſembly* ſhould likewiſe ſpeak unto you concerning this *great* buſineſs, and notwithſtanding my indiſpoſition of body, being required by them, though that Gentleman of the Houſe of Commons hath ſpoken ſo abundantly to the purpoſe, yet notwithſtanding I am here come to ſpeak ſomething, the rather to declare my willingneſs to appear in this Cauſe, that is every way ſo juſt, and every way ſo honeſt, and ſo good, that I may truly ſay, as the Martyr did, *that if I had as many lives, as I have hairs on my head, I would be willing to ſacrifize all theſe lives in this Cauſe*; You know the ſtory of *Craſus*, that though he never ſpake in his life, yet when he ſaw his Father ready to be killed, it untyed the ſtrings of his tongue, and then he cryed out, that they would not kill his Father; you are not ignorant that *England* and *Ireland* lye a dying, and though I never appeared in this place, yet I bleſs God that hath given me that health, this day, to ſpeak ſomething in this Cauſe, for the reviving of the dying condition of *England*, and *Ireland*; It is ſuch *a Cauſe* as is able to make a very Infant eloquent, and a dumb man to ſpeak that never ſpake in all his life; The matter I am deſired to ſpeak to, is, concerning the *Contribution*, to perſwade you to be liberal towards the bringing in of the *Scots*, to help us in this our great neceſſity; The truth is, it is a great ſhame that *England* ſhould ſtand in need of another Nation, to help it to preſerve its Religion and Liberties: That *England*, that hath been enriched with the Goſpel of Peace, and the peace of the Goſpel for ſo many years; that *England*, that hath been bleſſed with ſo many rare Miniſters of God, ſo many precious, and powerful ſervants, that have preached the Word of God in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon; that *England*, that hath profeſſed the Goſpel with ſo much power and purity; that *England* ſhould ſtand in need of the help of their Brethren of *Scotland*, for to preſerve that Goſpel that they have profeſſed ſo many years; I confeſs to me it ſeems a very ſtrange Prodigie, and a ſtrange wonder; but it hath pleaſed Almighty God for the ſins of *England*, for our great unthankfulneſs, and for our unthankfulneſs under theſe means,

and for the great blood-guiltineſs, and Idolatry, and Superſtition of this Nation, it hath pleaſed God to ſuffer a great part of the Kingdom to be blinded, eſpecially thoſe parts, where the Word of God hath not been preached in a powerful manner; and there are many in the Kingdom, that will not be perſwaded, that there is an intention to bring in *Popery*, and to bring in *Slavery*; Many of them (I ſay) think that though the *Popiſh Army* ſhould prevail, and the *plundering Army* ſhould prevail, yet they think all would go well with *Religion*, and with their *Liberties*; I ſay it hath pleaſed God to ſuffer abundance in the Kingdom, to be blinded with this opinion, out of a juſt judgement to puniſh us for our unthankfulneſs, and for our ingratitude; and this is the reaſon that ſo many men ſtand *Neuters*, and that ſo many are *Malignants*, and diſaffected to this *great Cauſe*, in ſo much that I am concluded under this, that there is little probability to finiſh this Cauſe, without the coming in of the *Scots*, (as you heard ſo worthily by that Member of the Houſe of Commons;) *The ſons of* Zerviah *are grown ſo ſtrong*, what through our fearfulneſs, what through our covetouſneſs, what through our malignity, that there is little hope (I ſay) to finiſh this great Cauſe, or to bring it to a deſired peace, without the help of *another* Nation, and by the aſſiſtance of God, by the help of another Nation it may be done; Theſe are *two* mighty, two omnipotent Arguments, to prevail with you to contribute your utmoſt aid and aſſiſtance to that Cauſe; ſince it cannot ſpeedily be done without their help, and by Gods bleſſing, it may ſpeedily be done by their help.

What would the *Kings party* do, if they could engage another Nation to their help? 21000. if they could engage them to our ruine, what would they not do? How much more ſhould we be willing to contribute our greateſt help to engage a Nation, that indeed is part of our own Nation, within the ſame Iſland, and our Brethren ſo faithful, and ſo well affected to this Cauſe, what ſhould we not be willing to do to ingage ſo great a party? I would intreat you to remember, that it is not many years ago, ſince our Brethren of *Scotland* came hither into *England*, in a war-like manner, and yet with peaceable affections, and that you would remind your ſelves, what good they did to you when they were then in *England*, they were the chief Cauſes of this Parlament, that now we do enjoy, and of all the good that hath been reaped by this Parlament; (as you may well remember) By their coming in you know this Parlament was procured, and their ſecond coming in (through Gods mercy) may be a means to confirm this Parlament, and to eſtabliſh it, and to uphold it in its dignity, and in the privileges of it,

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and to keep it from being ruined; and if the Parliament be ruined, you all well know that our Religion, and our Liberties are ruined, for the Parliament is the great Conservatour of Religion and Liberties; and I may truly say (as you know *Caligula* did once wish, that all *Rome* were one neck that he might cut it off at one blow) They that intend to ruine the Parliament, they ruine your Religion and Liberties, and all *England* at one blow; Now (I say) as their *first* coming was a means to produce this Parliament so their *second* coming in (through Gods blessing) may be a means to establish it, and to confirm it; And when they were here, you know how faithfully they carried themselves, and when they had done their work, how willingly they went away without doing any hurt, and I doubt not of the same faithfulness, nay, you ought all to believe, that they will likewise, when they have done the work they are called to in *England*, they will likewise with the same faithfulness depart, for it is Religion that brings them here, and the same Religion will make them willingly leave us, and go home to their own Countrey, when they have done that work for which they came. I am assured that the great hope at *Oxford* is, that they will never prevail for the getting of Money for to bring them in; and if they once see the matter of Money effected, and if they once hear of the *Scots* coming in, it will work such a terror there, as I am assured, that it will (through Gods mercy) produce a notable complyance of that Party with the Parliament for an effectual peace, such as all the godly of the Land shall bless God for.

I foresee there are many *Objections* that may be brought to hinder this work, many mountains of opposition that will lie in the way: And likewise that the *Malignants* will buz many things in your ears, if it be possible to put some great rub in the way, to hinder the effecting of this work, but I hope, the love you have to God, and to your Religion, and to the Gospel, and to your wives and children, will swallow down all these objections, and conquer them all; I le name some *few* objections, and give you some short answer.

Some it may be, will put you in mind, to call in question the *lawfulness* of contributing towards the bringing in of the *Scots* to this Nation; But for this, I le give you an easie answer, Certainly Gentlemen, it is as lawful for the Parliament to call in our brethren of *Scotland* to their help, as it is lawful for me, when my *house* is on fire, and not able to quench it my self, to call in my neighbour to quench my house, that is ready to burn down; The Kingdom is all on fire, we are not able with that speed to quench it, as we wish, we call in our brethren in *Scotland* to help us to quench the flames that are kindled among us; It is as lawful as it is for

the

the *Maſter* and Mariners of a *Ship*, when it is ready to ſink through a mighty Tempeſt, to call in other Mariners to help to keep the Ship from ſinking; It is the condition of our Kingdom now, it is ready to ſink, and it is our deſire that our Brethren of *Scotland* would come in to our aid, to keep it from ſinking.

Others it may be will object and ſay to you, it is *rebellion*, eſpecially *to call in another Nation* to your help. But I beſeech you give me leave to put you in mind, that when the *Scots* came laſt into *England*, there was a *Proclamation* out againſt them, wherein they were called Rebels, and there were prayers to be ſaid in our Churches (as you well remember) in which we were to pray againſt them as Rebels, and there was Money likewiſe contributed then, for to hinder their coming in, and to raiſe an Army to drive them out of the Kingdom, and I doubt not but you may remember, all the ill-affected did contribute Money to keep them out of this Kingdom, and from tarrying in; but it pleaſed Almighty God through his great mercy, ſo to change and alter the ſtate of things, that within a little while, the Nation of *Scotland*, even by Act of Parlament, they were proclamed and made the true and Loyal Subjects of the King, and in thoſe Churches in which they were prayed againſt as Rebels, even in thoſe very Churches, they were pronounced the good Subjects of the King; this I doubt not but you remember, and I doubt not, but through the mercy of God, the Lord raiſing up our hearts, I doubt not but the ſame effect will come of their *ſecond* coming into this Kingdom; and they that now tell you they are Rebels, and you do an act of Rebellion, in the contribution to the bringing of them in, I doubt not but you ſhall ſee an *Act of Parlament* to call them his *Loyal Subjects*, (wherein I hope our *King* will concur with his Parlament) and likewiſe *Prayers* made, nay, a day of *thankſgiving*, as was after their firſt coming, a day of Thankſgiving for the mercy of God, in ſtirring up their hearts to be willing to come unto our help.

But it may be ſome others will object and ſay, why ſhould *we* that are *Miniſters*, engage our ſelves ſo much in this buſineſs? to ſee a *Reverend Aſſembly* of grave Miniſters to appear here in ſo great an Aſſembly. This it may be, will be a mighty objection to ſome, but I beſeech you give me leave to give you a ſhort anſwer; did I not think that that ſhall be ſaid this day, would mightily conduce to peace, for my part, I would not have been the *mouth* of the Aſſembly; did I think any other way to produce a ſolid and a ſetled peace, a Religious peace, I that am a Miniſter of peace, an Ambaſſador of peace, I would not have been a *Trumpeter* to this buſineſs this day: the truth is, if you would have peace with Popery,

pery, a Peace with ſlavery; if you would have a *Judas* peace, or a *Joab* his peace, you know the Story, *he kiſs'd* Amaſa, *and then killed him*; if you would have a peace that may bring *a maſſacre* with it, *a French peace*, if you would have ſuch a peace, it may be had eaſily; but if you would have a peace that may continue the Goſpel among you, and may bring in a Reformation, ſuch as all the godly in the Kingdom do deſire, I am concluded under this, and am confident that ſuch a peace cannot be had without contribution towards the bringing in of the *Scots*, and that is the reaſon, for the promoting of this peace, this bleſſed peace, that we have appeared here this day: and me-thinks (Gentlemen) the very ſight of theſe worthy *Divines*, methinks ſo many Divines, ſo many Orators, ſo many ſilent Orators to plead with you, to be willing to engage your ſelves to the utmoſt to help forward the Nation of *Scotland* to come to our help. And likewiſe I would put you in mind of the 10 *th.* of *Numbers*, there you ſhall read that *there were two ſilver Trumpets*; and as there were *Prieſts* appointed for the *convocation of their Aſſemblies*, ſo there were *Prieſts* to ſound *the ſilver Trumpets* to proclame the War. And likewiſe in the 20 *th.* of *Deuteronomy*, you ſhall finde there, that when the children of *Iſrael* would go out to War, *the ſons of Levi*, one of the *Prieſts*, was to make *a ſpeech* to encourage them. And certainly, if this were the way of God in the Old Teſtament, certainly much more in ſuch a Cauſe as this, in which Cauſe Religion is ſo intwin'd, and indeed ſo interlac'd, that Religion and this Cauſe, they are like *Hippocrates* his twins, they muſt live and dye together. And (Gentlemen) if *Religion* were not concerned in this Cauſe, and mightily concerned; and if Religion did not live and dye with it, we had not appeared this day; And I hope this will be a ſufficient anſwer unto this Objection.

But there is another *Objection* which I will anſwer, and then briefly give leave to my other Reverend Brethren, that likewiſe are prepared to ſpeak here. The great Objection of all is this, *that the City is already exhauſted*, and ſo much money hath been lent already, that there is no hope of lending any more; this is the grand Objection. But truly (Gentlemen) for my part, this is one of the chief Arguments I have to perſwade you to lend a little more, becauſe you have lent ſo much: give me leave to put you in mind of that Story, in the 2 *Kings* 13. the Story of King *Joaſh*, that came to viſit the Prophet *Eliſha*, when he was ready to breath out his laſt, the Prophet *Eliſha* gives him *a bow and arrows*, and *bids him ſhoot*, he ſhoots, and bids him ſmite, he ſmites the ground *thrice*, and then he ceaſed, the *Prophet* was exceeding angry with him, and tells him, you ſhould have ſmote the ground 5 or 6 times, and then you ſhould have utterly

terly conſumed the *Aſſyrians*, whereas now you ſhall ſmite them *but three times*. Give me leave to apply this, Gentlemen, you have ſmote the ground thrice, you have lent *once*, *twice*, and *thrice*, indeed you have been the ſame of *England*, and the Repairers of *England*, and the Ornaments of *England*, you have lent much, but let me tell you, *you muſt ſmite the ground 5 or 6 times, if ever you look to conſume the Aſſyrians*, if ever you look to bring this War to a happy Peace, that your poſterities may rejoyce in this Peace, you muſt ſhoot one arrow more, and then through Gods bleſſing, you may utterly conſume theſe enemies, that you and your poſterity may rejoyce in a happy peace; It is a famous ſtory of *Johannes Eleemoſinarius*, that when he had given even almoſt all he had to the poor, his friends were exceeding angry with him, and told him he had undone himſelf, what was his anſwer? O (ſaith he) *I have not yet ſhed my blood for Jeſus Chriſt*; Jeſus Chriſt he emptied himſelf of his Divinity, to make us rich, he became poor, and ſhed his blood for you; You have not yet made your ſelves ſo poor as Jeſus Chriſt was, that had no houſe to lodge in, and he did all this for your ſakes; You have not yet ſhed your blood for the Cauſe of Chriſt; We read that *Moſes* was willing to be *blotted out of the book of life*, for the *Cauſe* of God; and we read of *Paul*, that he was willing to be *accurſed, for the people of* Iſraels *ſake*; And will you not be willing to venture your earthly proviſions for ſo good a Cauſe as this is, which (I ſay) *England* was never engaged in the like?

Religion hath produced all the wealth you have, all your wealth is but the child of Religion; we have a ſaying, *Religio peperit divitias, & divitiæ devorarunt matrem*; Religion hath begot wealth, and the Daughter hath devoured the Mother; *& filia devoravit matrem*; but give me leave, and I hope (through Gods bleſſing) you will invert this ſaying, Religion hath got you all the wealth you have, you Gentlemen, and I hope the Daughter now will preſerve the Mother; I hope Riches will preſerve Religion, and not deſtroy Religion. A famous example of *Polanus Nolinus*, that when he had given all that he had away, and being asked, why he would give ſo much to the poor? he gave this anſwer, *Ut levius aſcenderem ſcalam Jacobi*, that I might the eaſier get up *Jacobs* ladder; And let me aſſure you, *in the word of a Miniſter, the contributing to this Cauſe for Gods ſake*, and for the glory of God, and for the peace of the Goſpel, (I ſay) *will be a means to make you the ſooner aſcend up* Jacobs *Ladder*; not for the giving of the money, but for the evidence of your Faith, through the merits of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by your giving of the money; And certainly that man will never get up *Jacobs* Ladder, that hath the ruſt of his money to bear witneſs againſt him, at the day of Judge-

Judgement, especially at such a time as this. Give me leave to put you in mind of one other story, and that is of one *Bernardinus Ocanus*, that was so liberal to the poor, that every peny that he gave to the poor, he would call it a *holy peny*, and a *happy peny*, and he would *bless God, that he had that peny to give*; indeed he was a Papist, and his ordinary speech was, O happy peny, that hath purchased immortality to me; indeed this speech was not good, for it is not our money that doth purchase heaven, that is an evidence of the truth of our Faith, that lays hold upon Christ for salvation; But let me tell you, if ever (Gentlemen) you might use this speech, *O happy peny*, you may use it now; Happy money that will purchase my Gospel, happy money that will purchase Religion, and purchase a Reformation, to my posterity, O happy money, and blessed be God that I have it to lend! And I count it the greatest opportunity that ever God did offer to the godly of this Kingdom, to give them some money to lend to this Cause; And I remember in this *Ordinance* of Parliament, you call it *Advance money*; It is called an Ordinance to advance money towards the maintaining of the Parlaments forces; and truly it is the highest advance of money, to make money an instrument to advance my Religion; the Lord give you hearts to believe this.

You shall have the Faiths of both Kingdoms ingaged in this Cause, the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the Kingdom of *England*, and surely the publick Faith of *Scotland* will secure the publick Faith of *England*; I speak now of secondary causes through Gods blessing. I am informed by the *Commissioners of Scotland*, that the Nation of *Scotland are now taking the Covenant*, (that we took the last Lords day in this City:) And you know that a *Scotch* Covenanter is a terrible thing; you know what mighty things they did, by their last Covenant; you know that the name of a Covenanter, the very name of it, did do wonders; And I am assured by them, that *there is not one person in the Kingdom of* Scotland, *that is not a Covenanter*, and *there shall not one abide among them, that will not take this Covenant*, and there shall not *one of* those 21000 *that are to come over in this Cause*, not one of them shall come, *that will not take this Covenant*, but they must take this Covenant before they come; O that the consideration of these things, might work up your hearts to a high degree of Charity, to a superlative degree, and that the Lord would make you more active and more liberal in this great Cause; For my part, I speak it in the name of my self, and in the name of these reverend Ministers, we will not only *speak to perswade* you to contribute, but every one of us, that God hath given any estate to, we will all to our utmost power, we will not only say *ite*, but *venite*, we will not only speak to you to lend, but every one of us, as we

have already lent, *ſo we will lend* to our utmoſt power, and bleſs God that we have it to lend; for indeed it is now a time of action, and not of ſpeaking only, becauſe it is an extraordinary buſineſs, therefore *here is an extraordinary appearance of ſo many Miniſters, to encourage you in this Cauſe*, that you may ſee how real the godly Miniſtery in *England* is unto this Cauſe.

The *Goſpel* it is called a *Pearl* of price, by our Saviour Chriſt, and I hope all you *Merchants* will part with your goodly pearls to buy this pearl of price; You *Tradeſmen*, the Goſpel is called a *Treaſure hid in the field*, ſo our Saviour Chriſt calls it, I hope you will be willing to part with your earthly treaſures, to preſerve this bleſſed treaſure that is hid in the field; you have parted with ſome goodly pearls already, I hope you will part with your other goodly pearls. There is an excellent Story of one *Nonius* a *Roman* Senator, that had a pearl that he did prize above his life, and when *Anthony* the *Triumvir*, one that was then in great power, when he ſent to *Nonius* to have the pearl, he would not ſend it him, and he told him, that if he would baniſh him, he would be willingly baniſhed, ſo he might ſave his pearl, if he would take away his life, he would die with his pearl; he did not regard his Countrey, ſo he might have his pearl; he regarded nothing, ſo he might have his pearl; but he would not part with his pearl, what-ever he parted withall; This pearl it is the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, that you have profeſſed in this City, and I hope you have profeſſed it with power; and certainly, you have the name of thoſe that have profeſſed the Goſpel in the greateſt purity of any under heaven; This pearl is this Goſpel, I hope you will part with all willingly and cheerfully, rather than part with the Goſpel, though you go to priſon, carry the Goſpel with you, nay, though you loſe your lives, it ſhall be with the Goſpel, and for the Goſpel; I hope ſo.

There is *one* Argument more, and then I have done, and that is from the *inveterate hatred they have at* Oxford, *againſt the City of* London, and againſt you for your good, becauſe you have been ſo well-affected to this Cauſe. Gentlemen, I beſeech you give me leave (that am no Stateſman, nor acquainted with the affairs of policy, yet give me leave) to put you in mind of this, that *ſurely* the *plundering* Army at *Oxford* conceive that they ſhall find a great treaſure here in the City, though many pretend they have no money; Though certainly you have done well, and lent much, yet the *plundering* Army give out, that if they get poſſeſſion of the City, they ſhall find a treaſury to be able to pay all they have been at: And if ever you

you ſhould be driven (which God forbid) to make your peace, it would coſt you twenty times as much then to procure your peace, and ſuch a peace it may be, that would be rather a War than a Peace, and a death better than that peace, which now you may have for a very little, a moſt happy Peace.

There is a famous ſtory of *Zelimus* Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, that after he had taken *Ægypt*, he found a great deal of treaſure there, and the Souldiers came to him, and asked him, what ſhall we do with the *Citizens* of *Ægypt*, for we have found a great treaſure among them, and we have taken their Riches? *O* (ſaith he) *hang them all up, for they are too rich to be made ſlaves*; and this was all the thanks they had for the riches they were ſpoiled of; And it may be, though ſome of you that ſtand *Neuters*, or ſome of you that are diſaffected to the Cauſe of the Parlament, may think that if the Lord for our ſins, ſhould *give up this City unto the Army that is with the King, you may think that you ſhall eſcape, yet be aſſured that your goods will be* Roundheads, *though you be not*, your goods will be *Gybellins*, though you be *Guelfs*, as the ſtory is; Certainly, there will be no diſtinction, in the plundering of your goods, between you and others; and therefore let me beſeech you, that as the Lord hath made you inſtruments to do a great deal of good already, for indeed you are the preſervers of our Religion, and you are the preſervers of our Parlament, by your liberality, and by your former contributions, and by your aſſiſtance, and the Lord hath made you mighty inſtruments of our good, let me beſeech you, that you would perſevere, and now we are come to the Sheat Anchor, we are now come to the laſt caſt, I beſeech you, you would perſevere, and hold out; and O that my words might add ſomewhat to help forward this contribution! It hath pleaſed God to make me a ſetled Miniſter in this City, and I have now been here almoſt *five* years in this City, and though *I had never done any good* in my place, *I ſhould now think it a great fruit of my coming to this City, if after* five *years* unprofitableneſs, I might ſpeak ſomewhat this afternoon, that might enlarge your hearts to a greater meaſure of liberality; All I will ſay is this: We Divines ſay, that *Perſeverance* is the onely grace that Crowns a Chriſtian; *Methuſhelah* lived nine hundred ninety and nine years, if he had fallen away from Grace, at the nine hundred ninety and nine years end, all the good that he had done before, had been quite forgotten; I know that God will ſo uphold his children, that they ſhall never fall away, but I bring it as a ſuppoſition, that ſup-

poſe that *Methuſhelah* had forſaken his righteouſneſs, all he had done before, had been quite forgotten; but God hath made a promiſe, never to forſake his Children, and that grace he hath begun in them, he will finiſh, and I doubt not but that God, that hath put it into your hearts to be ſo liberal already, and do ſo much in this Cauſe, and to be ſo cordial, and ſo real, and to exceed all other parts of the Kingdom, I hope that ſame God will now finiſh that good work he hath begun, and will crown all his Graces in you, with the Grace of Perſeverance; and that God that hath been the Author of all the good you have done, I doubt not but that God will be the finiſher: and I beſeech God to give a bleſſing to that hath been ſpoken.

Mr. Baxter's *Theſes of Government and Governours in General, Collected out of his Book called the* Holy Common-wealth.

I. GOvernours are ſome limited, ſome *de facto* unlimited: The unlimited are Tyrants and have no right to that unlimited Government. *P.* 106. *Theſ.* 101.

II. The 3. qualifications of neceſſity to the being of Soveraign Power are, 1. So much underſtanding, 2. So much will or goodneſs in himſelf, 3. So much ſtrength or executive power by his intereſt in the People or others, as are neceſſary to the ſaid ends of Government. *P.* 130. *Theſ.* 133.

III. From whence he deduceth 3. Corollaries, (*viz.*)

1. When Providence depriveth a man of his underſtanding and intellectual Capacity, and that ſtatedly or to his ordinary temper, it maketh him *materiam indiſpoſitam* and uncapable of Government, though not of the name. *Theſ.* 135.

2. If God permit Princes to turn ſo wicked as to be uncapable of governing ſo as is conſiſtent with the ends of Government, he permits them to depoſe themſelves. *Theſ.* 136.

3. If Providence ſtatedly diſable him that was the Soveraign from the executing of the Law, protecting the juſt, and other ends of Government,

ment, it makes him an uncapable ſubject of the power, and ſo deſpoſeth him. *Theſ.* 137.

IV. *Whereunto he ſubjoyns, that* though it is poſſible and likely that the guilt is or may be theirs, who have diſabled their Ruler by deſerting him, yet he is diſmiſſed and diſobliged from the charge of Government; and particular innocent members are diſobliged from being Governed by him.

V. If the perſon (*viz. the Soveraign*) be juſtly diſpoſſeſt, as by a lawful War, in which he loſeth his right, eſpecially if he violate the Conſtitution and enter into a Military ſtate againſt the People themſelves, and by them be conquered, they are not obliged to reſtore him, unleſs there be ſome ſpecial obligation upon them beſides their Allegiance. *Theſ.* 145.

VI. If the perſon diſpoſſeſs'd, though it were unjuſtly, do afterwards become uncapable of Government, it is not the Duty of his Subjects to ſeek his reſtitution. *Theſ.* 146. No not although (*ſaith he*) the incapacity be but accidental, as if he cannot be reſtored but by the Arms of the Enemies of God or of the Common-wealth.

VII. If an Army (of Neighbours, Inhabitants, or whoever) do (though injuriouſly) expel the Soveraign, and reſolve to ruine the Common-wealth, rather than he ſhall be reſtored; and if the Common-wealth may proſper without his reſtauration, it is the Duty of ſuch an injured Prince for the Common good to reſign his Government, and if he will not, the people ought to judge him as made uncapable by Providence, and not to ſeek his reſtitution to the apparent ruine of the Common-wealth. *Theſ.* 147.

Where by the way we are to note, he makes the people judge of this and all other incapacities of the Prince, and conſequently when or for what he is to be Depos'd, or not Reſtored by them.

VIII. If therefore the rightful Governour be ſo long diſpoſſeſs'd, that the Common-wealth can be no longer without, but to the apparent hazard of its ruine, we (*that is, we the people, or we the Rebels that diſpoſſeſs'd him*) are to judge that Providence hath diſpoſſeſs'd the former, and preſently to conſent to another. *Theſ.* 149.

IX. When

IX. When the People are without a Governour, it may be the duty of ſuch as have moſt ſtrength, *ex charitate*, to protect the reſt from injury. *Theſ.* 150. *And conſequently they are to ſubmit themſelves to the Parlament, or to that Army which depoſed or diſpoſeſs'd, or murdered the rightful Governour.*

X. Providence by Conqueſt or other means doth uſe ſo to qualifie ſome perſons above others for the Government when the place is void, that no other perſons ſhall be capable competitors, and the perſons (*doth not he mean the* Cromwels?) ſhall be as good as named by Providence, whom the People are bound by God to chooſe, or conſent to, ſo that they are uſually brought under a divine obligation to ſubmit to ſuch or ſuch, and take them for their Governous, before thoſe perſons have an actual right to Govern. *Theſ.* 151.

XI. Any thing that is a ſufficient ſign of the will of God, that this is the perſon, by whom we muſt be Governed, is enough (as joyned to Gods Laws) to oblige us to conſent and obey him as our Governour. *Theſ.* 153.

XII. When God doth not notably declare any perſon or perſons qualified above others, there the people muſt judge as well as they are able according to Gods general rules. *Theſ.* 157.

XIII. *And yet* All the people have not this right of chooſing their Governours, but commonly a part of every Nation muſt be compelled to conſent, *&c.*

XIV. Thoſe that are known enemies of the Common good in the chiefeſt parts of it, are unmeet to Govern or chooſe Governours, but ſuch are multitudes of ungodly vicious men. *Pag.* 174. *So that if thoſe that are ſtrongeſt (though feweſt) call themſelves the Godly Party, all others beſides themſelves are to be excluded from Governing or chooſing of Governours. And amongſt the ungodly that are to be thus excluded, he reckons all thoſe* that will not hearken to their Paſtors (*he means the Presbyterian Claſsis*) or that are deſpiſers of the Lords-Day, *that is, all ſuch as are not Sabbatarians, or will not keep the Lords-Day after the Jewiſh manner, which they preſcribe, and which is condemned for Judaiſm by all even*

of

of the Presbyterian perſwaſion in the world, but thoſe of England *and* Scotland *onely.*

XV. If a People that by Oath and Duty are obliged to a Soveraign, ſhall ſinfully diſpoſſeſs him, and contrary to their Covenants, chooſe and Covenant with another, they may be obliged by their latter Covenant notwithſtanding their former; and particular ſubjects that conſented not in the breaking of their former Covenants, may yet be obliged by occaſion of their latter choice to the perſon whom they chooſe. *Theſ.* 181.

XVI. If a Nation injuriouſly deprive themſelves of a worthy Prince, the hurt will be their own, and they puniſh themſelves; but if it be neceſſarily to their well-fare, it is no injury to him. But a King that by war will ſeek reparations from the body of the People, doth put himſelf into an hoſtile State, and tells them actually that he looks to his own good more than theirs, and bids them take him for their Enemy, and ſo defend themſelves if they can. *Pag.* 424.

XVII. Though a Nation wrong their King, and ſo *quoad Meritum cauſa*, they are on the worſer ſide, yet may he not lawfully war againſt the publick good on that account, nor any help him in ſuch a war, becauſe *propter finem* he hath the worſer cauſe. *Theſ.* 352.

And yet as he tells us (*pag.* 476.) we were to believe the Parlaments Declarations and profeſsions which they made, that the war which they raiſed was not againſt the King, either in reſpect of his Authority, or of his Perſon; but onely againſt the Delinquent Subjects, and yet they actually fought againſt the King in perſon, and *we are* to believe (*ſaith Mr.* Baxter *pag.* 422.) that men would kill them whom they fight againſt.

Mr. *Baxter's*

Mr. *Baxter*'s Doctrine concerning the Government of *England* in particular.

HE *denies the government of* England *to be Monarchical in these words.*

I. The real Soveraignty here amongst was us in King, Lords, and Commons. *Pag.* 72.

II. As to them that argue from the Oath of Supremacy and the title given the King, I refer them (*saith Mr.* Baxter) to Mr. *Lawson*'s answer to *Hobb*'s Politicks, where he sheweth that the Title is often given to the single Person for the honour of the Common-wealth, and his encouragement, because he hath an eminent interest: but will not prove the whole Soveraignty to be in him: and the Oath excludeth all others from without, not those whose interest is implied as conjunct with his —— The eminent dignity and interest of the King above others allowed the name of a Monarchy or Kingdom to the Common-wealth, though indeed the Soveraignty was mix'd in the hands of the Lords and Commons. *Pag.* 88.

He might have refer'd them to himself; *p.* 460. where he gives the same answer to the same objection.

III. *He calls it* a false supposition, 1. That the Soveraign power was onely in the King, and so that it was an absolute Monarchy. 2. That the Parlament had but onely the proposing of Laws, and that they were Enacted onely by the Kings Authority upon their request. 3. That the power of Arms and of War and Peace was in the King alone. And therefore (*saith he*) those that argue from these false suppositions, conclude that the Parlament being Subjects, may not take up Arms without him, and that it is Rebellion to resist him; and most of this they gather from the Oath of Supremacy, and from the Parlaments calling of themselves his Subjects; but their grounds (*saith he*) are sandy, and their superstructure false. *Pag.* 459, & 460.

And therefore Mr. Baxter *tells us*, that though the Parlament are Subjects in one capacity, yet have they their part in the Soveraignty also in their higher capacity, *Ibid. And upon this false and trayterous suppo-*

sition

ſition he endeavours to juſtifie the late Rebellion, and his own more than ordinary activeneſs in it. For,

IV. Where the Soveraignty (*ſaith he*) is diſtributed into ſeveral hands (as the Kings and Parlaments) and the King invades the others part, they may lawfully defend their own by war, and the Subject lawfully aſſiſt them, yea though the power of the Militia be expreſly given to the King, unleſs it be alſo expreſt that it ſhall not be in the other. *Theſ.* 363.

The concluſion (*ſaith he*) needs no proof, becauſe Soveraignty, as ſuch, hath the power of Arms and of the Laws themſelves. The Law that ſaith the King ſhall have the *Militia*, ſuppoſeth it to be againſt Enemies, and not againſt the Common-wealth, nor them that have part of the Soveraignty with him. To reſiſt him here is not to reſiſt power, but uſurpation and private will; in ſuch a caſe the Parlament is no more to be reſiſted than he. *Ibid.*

V. If the King raiſe War againſt ſuch a Parlament, upon their Declaration of the dangers of the Common-wealth, the people are to take it as raiſed againſt the Common-wealth. *Theſ.* 358.

And in that caſe (ſaith he) the King may not only be reſiſted, but ceaſeth to be a King, and entreth into a ſtate of War with the people. *Theſ.* 368.

VI. Again, if a Prince that hath not the whole Soveraignty be conquered by a Senate that hath the other part, and that in a juſt defenſive War, that Senate cannot aſſume the whole Soveraignty, but ſuppoſeth that government in *ſpecie* to remain, and therefore another King muſt be choſen, if the former be incapable, (*Theſ.* 374.) *as he tells us, he is*, by ceaſing to be King, *in the immediately precedent* Theſ.

VII. *And yet in the Preface to this Book he tells us that* the King withdrawing (*ſo he call the murdering of one King and the caſting off of another*) the Lords and Commons ruled alone; *was not this to change the* ſpecies *of the Government? Which in the immediate words before he had affirmed* to be in King, Lords and Commons; which conſtitution (*ſaith he*) we were ſworn, and ſworn, and ſworn again to be faithful to and to defend. *And yet ſpeaking of that Parlament which contrary to their Oaths changed this Government* by ruling alone, and taking upon them the Supremacy, he tells us that they were the beſt Governours in all the world, and ſuch as it is forbidden to Subjects to depoſe upon pain of damnation.

Vid. Preface to the *Holy Common-wealth.* p. 6.

VVhat then was he that depoſed them? one would think, Mr. Baxter *ſhould have called him a Traytor, but he calls him in the ſame Preface,* the Lord Prorector, *adding,* That he did prudently, piouſly, faithfully, and to his immortal honour exerciſe the Government, *which he left to his Son,* to whom (*as Mr.* Baxter *ſaith pag.* 481.) he is bound to ſubmit as ſet over us by God, and to obey for conſcience ſake, and to behave himſelf as a Loyal Subject towards him, becauſe (*as he ſaith in the ſame place*) a full and free Parlament had owned him: *thereby implying, That a maimed and manacled Houſe of Commons, without King and Lords, and notwithſtanding the violent expulſion of the ſecluded Members,* were a full and free Parlament; *and conſequently, that if ſuch a Parlament ſhould have taken Arms againſt the King, he muſt have ſided with them. Yea, though they had been never ſo much in fault, and though they had been the beginners of the VVar, for he tells us in plain and expreſs terms,*

VIII. That if he had known the Parlament had been the beginners of the War and in moſt fault, yet the ruine of the Truſtees and Repreſentatives, and ſo of all the ſecurity of the Nation being a puniſhment greater than any faults of theirs againſt the King could deſerve from him, their faults could not diſoblige him (*meaning himſelf*) from defending the Common-wealth. *Pag.* 480.

And that he might do this lawfully, and with a good Conſcience, he ſeems to be ſo confident, that in his Preface, he makes as it were a challenge, ſaying, that if any man can prove that the King was the higheſt power in the time of thoſe Diviſions, and that he had power to make that war which he made, he will offer his head to Juſtice as a Rebel.

As if in thoſe times of Diviſion the King had loſt or forfeited his Soveraignty, and the Parlament had not onely a part, but the whole Soveraignty in themſelves.

IX. *Finally Mr.* Baxter *tells us, Pag.* 486. That having often ſearched into his heart, whether he did lawfully engage into the War or not, and whether he did lawfully encourage ſo many thouſands to it; he tells us, I ſay, that the iſſue of all his ſearch was but this, —— That he cannot yet ſee that he was miſtaken in the main cauſe, nor dares he repent of it, nor forbear doing the ſame, if it were to do again in the ſame ſtate of things. *He tells us indeed in the ſame place,* that if he could be convinced he had ſinned in this matter, he would as gladly make a publick recantation, as he would eat or drink: *which ſeeing he hath not yet done, it is evident he is ſtill of the ſame mind, and conſequently would upon the ſame occaſion*

caſion do the ſame things, viz. *fight, and encourage as many thouſands as he could to fight againſt the King, for any thing that calls it ſelf, or which he is pleaſed to call* a full and Free Parlament: *as likewiſe that he would own and ſubmit to any Uſurper of the Soveraignty* as ſet up by God, *although he came to it by the murder of his Maſter, and by trampling upon the Parlament.* Laſtly, *That he would hinder as much as poſſibly he could the reſtoring of the rightful Heir unto the Crown. And now whether a man of this Judgement, and of theſe affections, ought to be permitted to Preach or no, Let any, but himſelf, judge.*

Mr. Stephen Marſhal *in his Thanksgiving Sermon on* Pſal. 124. verſ. 6, 7, 8. *before the Houſe of Commons*, Sept. 7. 1641. *Upon the peace concluded between* England *and* Scotland.

Page 40, 41. Many are grieved at the great things God has done for us, as in the eighth of *Ezekiel v.*14. A company of women ſate weeping for *Tammuz*, cauſe they had loſt their Idol.

Pag. 45. This year have we ſeen broken the yokes which lay upon our Eſtates, Liberties, Religion, and Conſcience.

Pag. 49. Look to your families, do as *Jacob* did at *Bethel*, when he payed his vow of thanksgiving unto God, he made all his family bury their Idols under an Oak.

Mr. Stephen Marſhal *in his Sermon Preach'd to the Houſe of Commons at their day of Thanksgiving,* June 15. 1643. *For the diſcovery of a dangerous, deſperate, and bloody Deſign, tending to the utter ſuberſion of the Parlament, and of the famous City of* London.

THe viol now pouring out is the Lords work, and he will ſee it done, doubt ye not. *Pag.* 9.

The firſt Engineers that battered the walls of this great *Babylon*, Who were they but the poorer and meaner ſort of people that at the firſt joyn'd with the Miniſters to raiſe the building of Reformation? *pag.* 15.

In *Scotland* what great things hath the Lord lately done, by very weak means, hardly *the fift part of the Nobility appearing for them*, ſcarce one fourth part of the Kingdom *owning the Cauſe*? Pag. 18.

Were not the Book of Service, and the Book of Canons obtruded on them, the Occaſion of their late mercies? and the Tyranny of a few of their Prelates, a means to unburthen them of their whole Prelacy? *Pag.* 18.

To what a dead low ebb were We brought, our liberty almoſt ſwallowed up, and turned into ſlavery, our Religion into Popery? *Pag.* 18.

The Prelates late Canons and Oath, purpoſely contrived for the perpetuating of their Hierarchy, and their other treacherous endeavours againſt the State, joyning with the Papiſts, and with them labouring to bring all into Confuſion, hath helped thus far toward the taking them away both Root and Branch. *Pag.* 19.

The *Roman* Emperors waſted the Saints in ten ſeveral perſecutions, but all theſe were nothing in compariſon of this deſtroyer, all their loins not ſo heavy as the little *finger of Anti-Chriſt*. Pag. 25.

You are in part (Honorable and well-beloved) one of the Angels who are to pour out the vial of the wrath of God. *Pag.* 37.

Had this bloody contrivance took effect, this Honorable Aſſembly had been made as a Parlament of *Paris*, the greateſt Inſtruments of the Kingdoms Slavery and vaſſallage for time to come. *Pag.* 39.

Think

Think now how deeply you are engaged, and brought under the curſe of God, if you perform not this Solemn Covenant, think how horrid a thing it will prove for any of you to ſtand perjured men before God in matters of ſuch conſequence. *Pag.* 41.

All Proteſtant Writers do agree, that we are under the pouring out of ſome one or more of theſe ſeven Vials, ſome think the fourth Vial is now pouring out on the Anti-chriſtian world, others the fift on the throne of the Beaſt. *Pag.* 44.

I dare ſpeak it as confidently as I believe the Revelation to be Divine Scripture, that what Viol ſoever is now pouring out, the iſſue will be, *Anti-chriſt ſhall loſe*, and Chriſt ſhall gain. *Pag.* 45.

Mr. Stephen Marſhal *in his Sacred Panegyrick, Preached to the two Houſes of Parlament, his Excellency the Earl of* Eſſex, *Lord Maior, Court of Aldermen, &c. Upon occaſion of their Feaſting, to teſtifie their thankfulneſs to God, for their Union and Concord,* Janu. 18. 1643. *on* 1. Chron. 12. 38, 39, 40. *All theſe came with a perfect heart to* Hebron *to make* David *King over* Iſrael, *&c.*

DAvid perſecuted by *Saul* did not onely take up Arms for his own defence, but many of the choiſeſt men of the Tribes did joyn with him, and all this while King *Saul* was alive, and *David* but a private man, and one that had ſworn *Allegiance to him. Pag.* 7.

Now beloved give me leave to ſpeak my thoughts freely, I will ſet aſide my Text, and the matter I have in hand, and yet I will confidently affirm, that our days now are better than they were ſeven years ago, becauſe it is better to ſee the Lord executing Judgement, then to ſee men working wickedneſs, and to behold a People lie wallowing in their blood, rather than apoſtating from God, and embracing Idolatry and Superſtition, and baniſhing the Lord Jeſus from amongſt them. *Pag.* 18.

If there be any in this Aſſembly that thinks not this a ſufficient Retribution and Satisfaction for all his twentieth part, for all his contributi-

ons

ons, for all his payments and hazards, I ſay he is blind, I ſay his heart is not right with God, he hath no ſhare in this buſineſs. *Pag.* 20.

Carry on the work ſtill, leave not a rag that belongs to Popery, lay not a bit of the Lords building with any thing that belongs to *Anti-chriſt*, but away with it, Root and Branch, Head and Tail, till you can ſay, Now is Chriſt ſet upon his throne. *Pag.* 21.

* Noble and reſolute Commanders, go on to fight the battels of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for ſo I will not now fear to call them. *Pag.* 21. ——

* All Chriſtendom, except the Malignants in *England*, do now ſee that the queſtion in *England*, is, whether Chriſt or Anti-chriſt ſhall be Lord and King. *Pag.* 21.

Ten thouſand times curſed are they who have provoked Our Soveraign to raiſe Arms to deſtroy his *Nobles, and Commons, and Divines*, and this moſt *honoured City*, and even all who have been faithful. *Pag.* 28.

Mr. Stephen Marſhal *after* Naſeby *fight, in a Thanksgiving Sermon, on* Pſal. 102. 18.

ALL the Countries where the Goſpel had prevail'd, have faithfully ſtood to God in his cauſe, the reſt nurſt up under Popery and Superſtition, both Lords Commons and Gentlemen, and whole Commons, did endeavour to fight themſelves into ſlavery, and labour to deſtroy the Parlament, that is themſelves, and all that is theirs.

Mr. Marſhal *in his Sermon on* Micah. 7. 1, 2. 1644.

BElieve this cauſe muſt proſper, though we were all dead, our Armies overthrown, and even our Palaments diſſolved, this cauſe muſt prevail.

Mr. Edmund

Mr. Edmund Calamy *in his Sermon before the Houſe of Peers,* June 15. 1643. *on* Joſhua 24. 15.

REligion is that which is pretended on all hands, The defence of the Proteſtant Religion, this news we hear daily from *Oxford*, and for this purpoſe there is an Army of Papiſts to defend Proteſtant Religion, juſt as the Gun-powder Treaſon, that would have blown up the Parlament for the good of the Catholike Religion. *Pag.* 24.

Few Noblemen and Gentlemen appear on the Parlament ſide, not many mighty, not many Noble, thus it was in Chriſts time, the great men and great Scholars crucified Chriſt. *Pag.* 30.

The Cauſe you mannage, is the Cauſe of God, the glory of God is embark'd in the ſame Ship in which this cauſe is, and you may lawfully ſay as *Joſhua* does, *Joſh.* 7. 9. What wilt thou do unto thy great name? and *Numb.* 14. 15, 16. And as *Joſhua* ſaid to *Iſrael*, *Numb.* 14. 7. So doth God to you, fear not, fear not, the people of the land, for they are bread for us, their defence is departed from them, and the Lord is with us, fear them not. *Pag.* 53.

I may ſay without uncharitableneſs, you have the major part of Gods people on your ſide. *Pag.* 55.

He that dies fighting the Lords battel, dies a Martyr. *Pag.* 57.

Mr. Thomas Caſe *in his Epiſtle Dedicatory to the Commons Houſe in Parlament, before his Sermon on* Ezek. 20. 25.

GOd in you hath graciouſly begun to make good that Evangelical promiſe, *Zech.* 12. 8. In defending this his *Engliſh Hieruſalem* he hath made him that was weak among you, as *David*, you have conquer'd the Lyon and the Bear, and ſhall not that uncircumciſed *Philiſtine* (that numerous Beaſt) who hath not ceaſt to blaſpheme the Armies of the Living God, become like one of theſe? behold * he lies groveling at your feet, there wants nothing *but cutting off his head.*

They

They cryed down the Sibbath as a ridiculous, or at leaſt, a ſuperfluous Ceremony. *Pag.* xi. * thus they make the King glad with their wickedneſs, and he that could bring *Jeroboam* an argument to juſtifie his Idolatry he was a well-come man at Court. *Pag.* 12.

Mr. Caſe *on* Ezra 10. 2, 3. *Preach'd before the Houſe of Commons.*

SOme have ſinn'd ſeducingly: and Jeſuites could never have been more deſperate, I am ſure they might have been leſs guilty, they have ſinn'd againſt their light, murthered their Principles they have ſuck'd in with their Mothers milk * *ſpare them not I* beſeech you, though they crouch and cringe, and Worſhip you as much as they have done their high Altars. *Pag.* 15.

Ah Brethren! I would not have you redeem their lives with your own heads. *Pag.* 16.

How the Preſence and Preaching of Chriſt did ſcorch and blaſt thoſe Cathedral Prieſts, that unhallowed generation of * Scribes and Phariſees, and perfected their Rebellion, into that *unpardonable ſin againſt the holy Ghoſt.* Pag. 33.

Mr. Caſe *on* Dan. xi. 32. 1644. *Before the Houſe of Commons on a day of Thanksgiving, for the Victory given to Sir* William Waller *againſt the Army of Sir* Ralph Hopton.

HAd not the Spirit of the Lord wrought to a wonder of wiſdom and power, we might have ſate down long before this, made our Wills, and bequeath'd our poor children, every one of them Popery and Slavery for their ſorrowful Patrimony. *Pag.* 9.

Curſed be he that withholdeth his Sword from blood, that ſpares, *when God* ſaith ſtrike; that ſuffers thoſe to eſcape whom God has appointed to deſtruction. *Pag.* 24.

Mr. Caſe

Mr. Caſe *on* Iſa. 43. 4. *In a Thanksgiving for taking* Bridgwater *and* Sherbourn.

* WHat a ſad thing is it my Brethren, to ſee our King in the head of an Army of *Babylonians*, refuſing as it were to be call'd the King of *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and chuſing rather to be call'd the *King of Babylon*? Pag. 18.

Prelacy and Prelatical Clergy, Prieſts and Jeſuites, Ceremonies and Service-Book, *Star-Chamber* and *High Commiſſion Court*, were mighty impediments in the way of Reformation, God hath mightily brought them down. *Pag.* 19.

* The Father having given to him (*Vid.* Chriſt) all power both in heaven and in earth, and the rule and Regiment of this Kingdom he hath committed to Monarchies, Ariſtocracies, or Democracies, as the ſeveral combinations and aſſociations of the *People* ſhall between themſelves think good to elect and erect. *God leaves people to their own Liberty in this Caſe.* Pag. 26.

Mr. Thomas Caſe, *Pſal.* 107.30, 31. *in his Thankſgiving Sermon for Surrender of* Cheſter.

* ALas, alas, they have put out the eyes of his Majeſty, and carried him away Captive; our King is in Babylon among *Idolaters* and Murtherers; *we have no King.*

Mr. *Joſeph Caryl* in his Sermon on *Nehe. chap.* 9. *verſ.* 38. Preach'd at the taking of the Covenant, *Octob.* 6. 1643.

THere is much ſin in making a Covenant on ſinful grounds, and there is more ſin in keeping it; but when the preſervation of true Religion, and the Vindication of juſt Liberties, meet in the ground-work, yea may ſwear, and not repent, yea if you ſwear, yea muſt not repent. *Pag.* 18.

Take the Covenant, and ye take *Baby'on*, The Towers of *Babylon* ſhall quake, and *her ſeven* hills ſhall move. *Pag.* 21.

It is *Shiboleth* to diſtinguiſh *Ephramites* from *Gileadites*. Pag. 22.

When we provoke God to bring evil upon us, he ſtays his hand by conſidering the Covenant. *Gen.* 9. 15. *Now as the remembrance* of the Covenant on Gods part ſtays his hand, ſo the remembrance *of the Covenant* will be very effectual, on our part, to ſtay our hands, tongues, hearts from ſin. *Pag.* 27.

Not onely is that Covenant which God hath made with us, founded in the blood of Chriſt, but that alſo which we make with God. *Pag.* 33.

Mr. *Caryl* on *Revel.* xi. *verſ.* 16, 17. before the Houſe of Commons, *April* 23. 1644.

OUr war has been proved over and over (to *Unbiaſt* conſciences) to be juſt. *Pag.* 15.

We may anſwer all Queries about the Reign of Chriſt thus, the *blind* begin to have their eyes unſcal'd, the lame do walk at liberty, proud *ones* are abas'd, the mighty ones are put from their ſeats, errors diſcountenanc'd, truths inquir'd after, Ceremonies and Superſtitions are caſt out, monuments of Popery and Paganiſm caſt down. *Pag.* 35.

Mr. *Caryl*

Mr. *Caryl* on *Luke* 10. 20.

Rejoyce not that the Spirits are made Subject unto you, &c.

*THere is very little difference between Devils and wicked men. I may ſay without breach of charity, Devils Incarnate are made ſubject this day, and their *Subjection is the ſubject of this* days rejoycing. *Pag.* 22.

Mr. *Charles Herle* before the Houſe of Lords, *Jan.* 15. 1643. on *Pſal.* 95. 1. *O come let us ſing unto the Lord, &c.*

*IN vain ſhall you in your Faſts, with *Joſhua*, lie on your faces, unleſs you lay your *Achans* on their backs, in vain are the high praiſes of God in your mouthes, *without a two edged Sword in your hand.* Pag. 31.

The ſame again he has in Sermon on *Gen.* 22. *verſ.* 2. before the Lord Maior and Aldermen, *pag.* 23. adding * the blood that *Ahab* ſpared in *Benhadad* ſtuck as deep and heavily on him, as that which he ſpilt in *Naboth.*

Mr. *Herle* in his Preface before his ſermon on 2 *Sam.* 21. 16, 17. Preach'd before the Commons, *Novemb.* 5. 1644.

HE is neither true Proteſtant nor true *Engliſh-man*, that doth not with all thankfulneſs and admiration, look upon the greatneſs of the contribution, which the concurrent ſtreams of our Siſter

Nation of *Scotland* brings to both thoſe intereſts of Church and State. *Pag.* 14.

* Do juſtice to the greateſt. *Sauls* ſons are not ſpared, no nor may *Agag* or *Benhadad*, though themſelves Kings. *Zimri* and *Cosbi*, though Princes of the People, muſt be purſu'd into their Tents. This is the way to Conſecrate your ſelves to God. *Pag.* 16.

Mr. *Herle* on 1 *Kings* 22. 22. I will be a lying ſpirit in the mouth of all the Prophets; Before the Commons, 1644.

*IF the Devil can but once get a Prophet to leave Gods Service for the Kings, he hath taken a Blew *already, and is ready* for as deep a Black as Hell can give him. *Pag.* 28.

* There can be nothing plainer than that the Houſes of Parlament without the Kings perſonal concurrence are ſtill a Court of Judgement. *Pag.* 38.

* The Houſes are not onely requiſite to the acting of this power of making Laws, but *co-ordinate* with his Majeſty in the very power of acting. *Pag.* 42.

Mr. *Jerem. Burroughs* on *Iſa.* 66. *verſ.* 10. in a Thanſgiving.

THere was corruption both in Church and Common-wealth, Idols were ſet up in *Dan* and *Bethel, i. e.* in the places of Judgement, and in the Houſe of God. *Pag.* 37.

*The greateſt blow that ever was given to Anti-chriſtian Government, is that which now it hath had, *Babylon* is fallen, is fallen, ſo fallen as it ſhall never riſe again. *Pag.* 44.

This is the Curſe of God on that party, notwithſtanding God ſets himſelf againſt them, yet they will not come in and repent, for God takes no pleaſure in them, to give them repentance. *Pag.* 58, 59.

Mr. *Obed.*

Mr. *Obed. Sedgewick* on *Eſther* 9. *verſ.* 1. in a Thankſgiving ſermon, *Jan.* 15. 1643.

*NEver were there groſſer Idols in *Rome* than thoſe things as they were uſed by ſome, *and what is abus'd by ſuperſtition ought not to be retain'd.* Pag. 33.

Mr. *Alexander Henderſon* before the Lords and Commons, *Thurſday* 18. of *July* 1644. on *Mat.* 14. 21. In his preface to that ſermon.

THe principal theam and matter of the Solemnity of the day, we take for an anſwer of the prayers of the faithful in the three Kingdoms.

Mr. *John Strickland* of *New Sarum* in his Thankſgiving, *Novemb.* 5. 1644. on *Pſal.* 46. 7.

*THe execution of Judgement is the Lords work, and they ſhall be curſed that do it negligently, and curſed ſhall they be that keep back their Sword from blood in this cauſe, *you* know the ſtory of Gods meſſage unto *Ahab* for letting *Benhadad* go upon Compoſition. *Pag.* 26.

* Such a generation of men there were amongſt us, that by compliances with Idols and Idolatry went about to drive God away, and what conſiſtence can there be between the Ark and *Dagon*, between God and Idols? *Pag.* 32.

Mr. *Mat-*

Mr. Matthew Newcomen on *Neh.* 4. x1. *Novemb.* 5. 1642.

Adam Contzen a Jeſuite has drawn a plot, for cheating of a people of the true Religion by Art of *Legerdemain*, the Method this, be pleaſed to obſerve how exactly the late times have moved according to theſe Rules.

When Abbies were demoliſh'd they found in their vaults and ponds heaps of Sculs and bones, monuments of their ſmother'd cruelty, I doubt not but the aboliſhers of High Commiſſion have found as manifeſt evidence of their cruel practices, heaps of the blood of Innocents. *Pag.* 30.

Thoſe Traytors (of the fift of *November*) laid their Fire-works in the Bowels of the earth, theſe have *laid* theirs in the boſom of our Soveraign, whereby they have Captivated not onely the multitude, but the Throne it ſelf. *Pag.* 35.

Mr. Joh. Ward before the Houſe, of Lords on *Deut.* 33. 16.

'Tis now more than manifeſt that *Rome* and Hell had long ſince taken counſel, by working *to extirpate all Proteſtant Religion*; as for diſſolving Our Laws, the introducing Arbitrary Government, it was but a deſign on the by to *Cajole* and hire the Court to their party. *Pag.* 16.

* The *Scots* were neceſſitated to take up Arms for their juſt defence, and againſt *Anti-chriſt* and the Popiſh Prieſts. *Pag.* 18.

A Lamp hath been ſeen to walk between the divided pieces, many Teſtimonies of the goodneſs of our God *in the remembrance of his Covenant*. Pag. 21.

Mr. *John*

Mr. John Bond Maſter of the *Savoy*, before the Houſe of Commons, on *Iſaiah* 25. 9. 1645. *Octob.* 8.

COme hither you malignant Atheiſts, come hither, gnaſh your teeth, and let your eyes rot in their holes. *Pag.* 5.

My ſute is (concerning the Covenant) that it may not be obtruded without due preparation, as the *Spaniards* baptized the *Americans* by droves. *Pag.* 36.

Give them time firſt to diſgorge themſelves of their direful *Anti-Covenant* perjurious combinations. *Pag.* 36.

Let them firſt ſhave their heads, and pair their nails, as the ſtrange *Virgin* of old was commanded to do, *and ſo let* them enter into that *ſacred and dreadful* Covenant. *Pag.* 37.

If hereafter the Tide of Victory ſhall turn again, and you ſhall be brought low, yet I beſeech you remember this day in which you are to give thanks for five Victories, that there was a day when God ſerv'd you in with five *Pheaſants in a diſh*, with a feaſt of fat things. *Pag.* 38.

Mr. Francis Woodcock before the Houſe of Commons, *Feb.* 19. 1645. on *Gen.* 49. 23. In his Preface to the County and City of *Cheſter* after the ſurrender of *Cheſter*.

THe Church in the foremoſt times was harraſed by *Rome* heathen, in theſe laſt days by *Rome* Anti-chriſtian. *Pag.* 8.

Have not we of this Kingdom been bought and ſold, hath it not been attempted, yea effected in great meaſure to bring us, as *Joſeph*, into *Egyptian* Slavery, were they not *Engliſh* Prelates that conſpired to ſell their Brethren into *Romiſh* Slavery? *Pag.* 12.

Some of your Brethren have come in and ſubmitted to you, Stars of the firſt Magnitude, and may it not be expected the Sun and Moon will do

do ſo too? *if they do not, they may do worſe,* if they do not, it will never be worſe for you. *Pag.* 20.

Mr. *Samuel Faircloth,* on *Joſh.* 7. 25. before divers of the Houſe of Commons.

Moſes fell on his face, as *Joſhua* here, and makes God cry out Let me alone; will this Cure it? no, *Moſes* ſees for all his prayers, *Iſrael* will not be cured without a full and total extirpation of all the accurſed things and Perſons alſo. *Pag.* 25.

* The Lord rent the Kingdom from *Saul* for ſparing one *Agag,* and for want of thorow extirpation of all the accurſed things, he loſt both thanks for what he had done and *Kingdom alſo.* Pag. 27.

'Tis not partial Reformation, and execution of juſtice upon ſome offenders will afford us help, *except thoſe* in Authority extirpate all *Achans* with *Babyloniſh* Garments, Orders, Ceremonies, Geſtures, be rooted out from among us. *Pag.* 28.

* To you of the Honourable Houſe, Up, for the matter belongs to you, *We, even* all the Godly Miniſters of the Country, will be with you. *Pag.* 29.

Think of it, in your Committees, to ſave them and theirs from trouble by troubling them, as *Joſhua,* to wit, *by a thorow* aboliſhment, and extirpation of them. *Pag.* 29.

The Eaſt wind did not ſooner cure *Egypt* of the Frogs of *Nilus,* than this courſe would *England* of all the *Achans* and Frogs of *Tiber* --- There being no vertue wherein men reſemble the Lord more lively, as in executing of juſtice, and in extirpation of thoſe *Achans* you will cut off the wicked, and procure the felicity of the choſen. *Pag.* 34.

Trouble they will bring upon us for time to come, if they be not now cut off, *all may* ſee that an Univerſal deſtruction, extirpation of Us, our Religion, Peace, and Laws, was intended by them, *and ſhall not Joſhua* juſtly extirpate *Achans* eye for eye, tooth for tooth? that juſtice may meaſure them, the meaſure they would have meaſur'd to us, *is not onely* equal but neceſſary, if ninery and nine were taken away, and but one *Achan* left, he would trouble us. *Pag.* 36.

Conſecrate your ſelves to day unto the Lord, and if all *Achans* could be

be hang'd up *coram iſto ſole*, let none remain until too morrow however. *Pag.* 47.

The Lord is perſuing you, if you execute not vengeance on them betimes. *Pag.* 48.

Why ſhould life be further granted to them whoſe very life brings death to all about them. *Pag.* 50.

Mr. *Will. Bridges* on *Revel.* 4. 8.

Babylon is fallen, as *Rome* in her Latitude with all her Merchants, and thoſe that Symbolize with her is here to be underſtood.. *Pag.* 6.

Worthies of *Iſrael*, it lies on you to enquire out this *Babyloniſh* company, and to repay them *an eye for an eye*, tooth for tooth, burning for burning, ear for ear, liberty for liberty, and blood for blood. *Pag.* 10.

Though as little ones, they call for pitty, yet as *Babyloniſh* they call for juſtice even to blood. *Pag.* 11.

If a thing be indifferent in it's own nature, and the doing thereof offenſive to a weak Brother, *Authority* can not write *jus divinum* upon it, *for to offend* a weak Brother is to deſtroy him. *Pag.* 15.

Whenſoever you ſhall behold the hand of God in the fall of *Babylon*, ſay, True, here is a *Babyloniſh* Prieſt crying out alas, alas, my living, I have wife and children to maintain, I but all this is to perform the judgement of the Lord. *Pag.* 30.

There ſhall be, who when the Vial ſhall be poured out on the beaſt, ſhall gnaw their tongues, and blaſpheme the *God* of heaven. *Pag.* 33.

Nath. Homes Doctor in *Divinity*, on 2 *Pet.* 3. *verſ.* 13. 1641.

An ill Scholar is not ſaid to be gone from the Univerſity, till he be gone *cum pannis* with his clothes, no more is enormity gone from the Univerſality of Eccleſiaſticks, till it be gone *cum pannis*, not a rag of Superſtition left behind. *Pag.* 31.

This Poſition That humane honeſt Intention may deviſe forms of devotion, hath brought all the Judaiſm, Turciſm, and Papiſm into the Church. *Pag.* 33.

Theſe Eccleſiaſtical Offices, Ceremonies, and Diſcipline, are ſet up by the Pope, and are an appendix, or tail of Anti-chriſt. *Pag.* 33.

Now is the promiſed time of the Churches Reformation in Chriſtendom. *P.* 34.

Mr. *H. Burton* in his Sermon on *Pſal.* 53. 7, 8. *Jun:* 20. 1641.

AFter the firſt-born of *Egypt* were ſlain, the children of *Iſrael* were deliver'd, and *for the* chiefeſt of theſe Incendiaries, certainly the Primogenit being taken away we may well hope for a glorious deliverance. *Pag.* XI.

* Gods people lie under bondage of Conſcience in point of *Liturgy*. Secondly, In bondage of Conſcience under *Ceremonies*. Thirdly, Of Conſcience under *Diſcipline*. Fourthly, Of Conſcience under *Government*. Pag. 21.

Mr. *S. Sympſon* on *Prov.* 8. 15, 16. By me Kings Reign.

* LEt no Law hinder you, *ſi jus violandum*, and *if Law be to be broken, it is for a Crown*, and therefore *for Religion*. Pag. 23.

* You are ſet *over Kingdoms*, to root out, pull down, deſtroy and throw down, *do it quickly*, do it *thorowly*. Pag. 24.

* That which is beſt, though evil, will be counted good after Reformation, as he is counted innocent, who ſcapes at trial. *Pag.* 25.

* Among the *Jews* all were in the Church that were fit to live, *now none muſt be but Saints*. Pag. 29.

One thing that has hindred the Church, hath been too much reſpect to Antiquity. *Pag.* 30.

An

An other thing that hinders the Church, hath been a deſire of Uniformity by this, Judaiſm and Gentiliſm got into the Church, that they might accord together. *Pag.* 31.

Mr. *Caſe* in his Sermon on 2 *Chron.* 19. 6, 7. Concerning *Jehoſaphats* Caveat to his Judges; Preaching to a Court Martial.

YOu know, ſaid he, how the *Midianites* (*the King and his Party*) with whom you have to do, have vext you with their wiles, and laboured to obſtruct you, yet to cut Us all off in our paſſage into the Land of Promiſe, that bleſſed Reformation, which the Parlament Conſult for, Aſſembly Diſpute for, Armies Fight for, and all good Chriſtians Pray for; Oh! therefore do you honour God in avenging your Brethren upon theſe *Midianites* in doing execution on the enemies of Chriſt and the Kingdom.

Out of the Book called *Scripture and Reaſon pleaded for Defenſive Arms*, or the whole *Controverſie about Subjects taking up of Arms*; Publiſhed by divers of their learneſt Divines, and ordered to be Printed by the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, *April* 14. 1643. Which Order is ſubſcribed by *John White.*

TO Doctor *Fern.*'s Objection, *That though it be ſaid, they intend not to hurt the Kings Perſon, yet might I not as well have hurt his Perſon in the day of Battel, as any of them that were ſwept away from about him by the fury of the Ordnance, which put no difference twixt King and Common Soldiers.* Pag. 19.

They anſwer by ſaying, *That though this is the hardeſt caſe that can be put againſt Defenſive Armes*, yet, (firſt) *By what Rule of Conſcience or God is a ſtate bound to ſacrifize Religion, Laws, and Liberties, rather than endure that the Prince his Life ſhould come into any poſſibilities of hazard, by defending them againſt thoſe that in his Name are bent to ſubdue them?* Pag. 18.

Secondly, *If he will needs thruſt himſelf upon the hazard, when he needs not, whoſe fault is that?* —— And (a little after in the ſame Anſwer,) *As if a King diſguized ſhould offer any private violence, a watchman that would not (or even might not) hurt him being known, were without blame, if he knock'd him down or killed him, as he might in like caſe a diſorderly private perſon. Now in Battel, to many or moſt, (and eſpecially to the Gunners that give fire to the Ordnance) he is altogether diſguiſed, and ſo they are blameleſs in reference to his perſonal hurt; the fault is wholly his own, and thoſe wicked Counſellors that have thruſt him upon the fury of the Battel.* Pag. 20.

To Doctor *Ferne*'s ſaying, *It is a marvellous thing, that among ſo many Prophets reprehending the Kings of* Iſrael *and* Judah *for their Idolatry*, cruelty, and oppreſſion, *none ſhould call upon the Elders of the people, for this duty of reſiſtance.*

They Anſwer, *That even in the reign of the beſt Kings, not onely the Peoples hearts were uſually unprepared, and in their greateſt ſeemings, hypocritical and treacherous,* —— *but alſo the Princes Elders and Nobles were exceedingly corrupt,* —— *Now if they were ſo bad in good times, who can marvel if they were ſtark naught, where the King was naught, and helpers, forwarders of his Idolatries, Cruelties, and Oppreſſions? And why ſhould it then be expected that the Prophets ſhould call upon them to reſiſt the King, being on their ſide, and they on his.* Pag. 20. 21.

It is not abſolutely true, that men are bound Univerſally, as by an Ordinance of God, to ſet up, live under Government, in the Doctors ſenſe, that is abſolutely, and without power to reſiſt. *Pag.* 31.

Either all mankind are not bound to be under Government (and all the Doctors texts and reaſons are alleged in vain) or elſe Kings and Monarchs are alſo *under ſome Government, at leaſt of the Repreſentative Body of their people*, according to what was before alleged from our Lawyers, *Rex non habet ſuperiorem præter legem, &* * *Curiam Comitum & Baronum, &c.* Pag. 32.

* The Law ſaith, *non habet Rex ſuperiorem præter Deum.*

We argue not that the people have power to *recall* that Regal Authority *wholly*, upon *any* Caſe of Mal-adminiſtration; All that we *plead* for is,

Power

Power to *adminiſter a part of it upon Neceſſity, which he will not adminiſter for good, but rather for evil.* And there are not many things that were altogether ours, and in our diſpoſing *before we part with them*, but are *ſtill* ſo far *Ours, to uſe them again in our Neceſſity, for that turn at leaſt.* (Pag. 35.)

A Prince onely inherits what was given the firſt of the Nation, or others ſince by conſent of the people; and by written Law or Cuſtome he muſt claim any power he will exerciſe, or elſe he cannot plead any right title to it, and his *qualification of power admits of Increaſe or Decreaſe, as he and the people agree and conſent. His power is altogether derived by Election and Conſent*, firſt and laſt, whence I will infer no more but as before, *that therefore in Caſe of neceſſity the people may uſe ſo much of it as may ſuffice to ſave themſelves from Ruine.* (Pag. 39.)

The late Uſurpers own'd as a Holy State ſet up by Almighty God.

MAfter *Sam. Slater* in a Sermon Preached at S. *Edmunds Bury* in *Suffolk* upon the 13. of *Octob.* 1658. Being a day ſet apart for Solemn Faſting and Humiliation, and ſeeking a bleſſing upon His *Highneſs* the Lord *Protector*. This Sermon he intitles *The Protectors Protection*, or *the Pious Prince guarded by a Praying People.* In this Sermon, *Pag.* 57, & 58. He hath theſe words, *Oh! pray for your Governours, and in a more ſpecial manner, for him whom* God hath made chief *over you, and by* his Providence *called to the* Supreme *place of Magiſtracy in the Nation. God hath been pleaſed of late to make a ſad breach among Us, taking away from Us our former* Pilot, *the late* Renowned Protector, *who when he had fought the Nations Battels, carried us thorow the wilderneſs, preſerved us from the rage and fury of our* Enemies, *and brought us within ſight of the* promiſed Land, *gave up the Ghoſt, laid down his leading Staff, and his life together, with whoſe fall the Nation was ſhaken: his death covered all the faces of ſober and conſiderate Perſons with* paleneſs, *and their hearts with* ſadneſs, *as if* Peace, Proſperity, Reformation, the Goſpel, all *lay drawing on, and would be buried in the ſame grave with* him. *But bleſſed be God,* Divine Grace *vouchſafed to caſt an eye towards us, and to viſit us*

in

in our low eſtate: there is another Pilot *placed in his room; While he directs the Courſe, let us fill the Sails with our* Praying *breath.* Moſes, *it is true, is dead, but we have a* Joſhua *ſucceeding him; let us pray that what the other happily* begun, *this may more happily* finiſh, *and bring the accompliſhment of all your* right-bred *hopes: and what they ſaid to* Joſhua, *let us ſay unto his* Highneſs, *According as we hearkned unto* Moſes *in all things, ſo will we hearken unto thee, onely the Lord thy God be with thee, as he was with* Moſes. Joſ. 1. 17. And pag. 60. *Our* Prince *riſeth glorioufly, pray that he might not ſet in a* cloud: *Our hopes concerning him are great, pray that they may not be* blaſted. *Thus He.*

Mr. Baxter in his Five Diſputations of Church-Government and Worſhip, in the Epiſtle Dedicatory to *Richard Cromwel*, He delivers the ſenſe of his Party in theſe words.

He reſembleth *Richard* to *Solomon* and *Oliver* to *David.*

Many are perſwaded you have been ſtrangely kept from participating in any of our late bloody Contentions, that God might make you a Healer of our Breaches, and imploy you in that Temple-work, which David *Himſelf might not be Honour'd with.* And he adds --- *This would be the way to lift you higheſt in the Eſteem and love of all* Your people, *and make them ſee that You are* appointed by God *to be an Healer and Reſtorer, and to glory in You, and to bleſs God for you as the* Inſtrument *of our chiefeſt good.* —— *My earneſt Prayers for your Higneſs ſhall be, that you may rule us as One that is ruled by God, &c.*

The ſame Mr. *Baxter* in his *Holy Common-wealth*, in the *Epiſtle Dedicatory* or *Preface* to the *Army*, (pag. 6.) He call'd thoſe *Uſurping Powers*, that were then laid by, *The beſt Governours in all the world, that have the* Supremacy, *whom to* Reſiſt *or* Depoſe *is forbidden to Subjects on pain of* Damnation, and pag. 8. He crys out, *ſhall the beſt of Governours, the greateſt of mercies ſeem intolerable? O how happy would the beſt of the Nations under heaven be, if they had the Rulers that our Ingratitude hath caſt off.* And pag. 484. ſpeaking of the *Uſurpers* (whomſoever he meant) he ſaith, *He is bound to ſubmit to the preſent Government, as ſet over us by God, and to obey for Conſcience, and to behave himſelf as a loyal Subject towards them.*

In

In the book intitled, *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*, * *publickly commended by Mr. Caryl, Mr. Burroughs, Mr. Strong, Mr. Sprigg, and Mr. Samuel Prittie.*

* By *Eulogies* and approbations Printed before the Book which commend it to all Readers.

Evangelista (in the Dialogue) being a Minister of the Gospel, doth instruct *Neophytus* or the *young Christian* in these following words. *Pag.* 201. *In case you be at any time by reason of the weakness of your faith, and strength of your temptations, drawn aside, and prevailed with to transgress any of Christs Commandments, beware you do not thereupon take occasion to call Christs love to you into question, but believe as firmly that he loves you as dearly as he did before you thus transgressed*: For *this is a certain truth, as no good in you, or done by you, did or can move Christ to love you the more*, So no *evil in you or done by you, can move Him to love you the less, &c.*

There are other things in that Book, as that * *The Law of Christ neither justifies nor condemns.* And *that in the Covenant betwixt Christ and his, there is no more for man to do, but onely to know and believe that Christ hath done all for him.*

* *Pag.* 161. *Pag.* 119.

Out of *Mr. Baxters* Five Disput. of Right to Sacraments, *Dispute* 3. *Pag.* 329.

He that hath oftentimes been drunk may have true grace, and be in number of the godly, and *Pag.* 330. How many professors will rashly rail, and lie in their passions, how few will take well a reproof, but rather defend their sin? *How many in these times that we doubt not to be godly* have been guilty of disobedience to their guides, and of Schism, and doing much to the hurt of the Church? a very great sin. *Peter*, *Lot*, and 'tis like *David* did oft commit greater sins. And *Pag.* 326, 327. *A man must be guilty of more sin than Peter* was in denying, and forswearing Christ, that is notoriously ungodly,

godly, yet, then *Lot* was, who was drunk two nights together, and committed incest twice with his own daughters, and that after the miraculous destruction of *Sodom*, of his own wife, and his own miraculous deliverance; Nay, a man that is notoriously ungodly (in the sense in hand) or unsanctified, must be a greater sinner than *Solomon* was, with his seven hundred wives, and his three hundred concubines, and gross Idolatries, when his heart was turned away from the Lord God of *Israel*, which appeared to him twice, and commanded not to go after other Gods, but he kept not that which the Lord commanded.

Mr. *Baxters* Five Disputations of Church Government and Worship, are thus Dedicated, *To His Highness* Richard *Lord Protector of the Common-Wealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland; *The Epistle begins,*

SIR,

THese Papers are *ambitious* of accompaning those against Popery into your *Highness* presence for the *Tender of their Service.*

* This would be the *way to lift You highest in the esteem and love of all your people, and make them* see, *that you are* * *appointed by God to be an Hea'er and Restorer, and to glory in you, and to bless God for you as the Instrument of our chiefest good.*

Your Zeal for God will kindle in *your Subjects a Zeal for you. Parlaments will love and honour you, Ministers will heartily pray for you, and teach all the people to love, and honour, and obey you.*

I crave your *Highness* favourable aceptance of the *tendered service of a* * *faithful Subject to your Highness,*

Rich. Baxter

In Mr. *Baxters* Key for Catholikes, and Epiſtle Dedicatory to the ſame *Richard*.

IT is onely the neceſſary defence of your life, and * *dignity, and the lives of all the Proteſtants that are under your Protection and Government*, and the Souls of men *that* * *I deſire* : —— *You have your Goverment*, and we our lives, *becauſe the* * *Papiſts are not ſtrong enough* —— Give not leave to every ſeducer to do his worſt to damn mens ſouls, *when you will not tolerate every Traytor to draw* * *your Armies or people into* * *Rebellion* —— If You aſk *who it is* that preſumeth thus to be *your Monitor*, *It is one that* * *rejoyceth in the preſent happineſs of* England, *and* * *earneſtly* * *wiſheth that it were but as well with the reſt of the world*, and that † *honoureth* * *all the providences of God*, by *which we have been brought to what we are*; *and he is one that* * *concurring in the common hopes of greater bleſſings yet to theſe Nations under* * *your Government*, was encouraged to do what you daily allow your Preachers to do, and to *concur with the reſt in the Tenders* (and *ſome performance*) *of his Service* —— *That God will make you* a Ruler and *preſerver of his Churches here at home*, and a *ſucceſsful helper to his Churches abroad* is the *earneſt Prayer of your Highneſs* * *faithful Subject*,

* The King and his Party clearly meant to be the Papiſts.

† * Clearly abetting the murdering of the King.

Richard Baxter.

Out of the Quarrel of the Covenant delivered in three ſermons, *Sept.* 27. & 30. *Oct.* 1. 1643. By *Thomas Caſe*, one of the Aſſembly of Divines.

TO *murmur at the Covenant* Mr. *Caſe* calls *the voice of Rebellion*. Pag. 19. The *Covenant* it ſelf he calls *a pure and heaven'y Ordinance*. Pag. 21.

Out of Mr. *Caſe* his Book of the Covenant, delivered in three ſermons. *A.D.* 1643.

IS *Prelacy indeed the way of Goſpel-government, &c?* What is it then that *hath deſtroy'd all Goſpel Order, and Government, and Worſhip in theſe Kingdoms, as in other places of the Chriſtian world, even down to the ground, hath it not been Prelacy?* Pag. 45.

Object. But there be that will tell us theſe have been the faults of the *Perſons* and not of the *Calling*. Pag. 46. Anſw. 5. Was not that *Calling as bad as the Men?* You may as well *ſay ſo of the Papacy in* Rome, *for ſurely the Prelacy of* England *which we ſwore to extirpate, was the very ſame Fabrick, and Model of Eccleſiaſtical Regiment, that is in the Anti-chriſtian world*; Yea, ſuch an evil it is, that ſome Divines, Venerable for their great Learning, as well as for their eminent holineſs, did conceive *ſole Epiſcopal Juriſdiction to be the very ſeat of the Beaſt, upon which the fifth Angel is now pouring out his Vial*, which is the reaſon that the Men of that Kingdom *gnaw their tongues for pain, and blaſpheme the God of heaven.* Pag. 47.

☞ *His Majeſty is bound by his Coronation Oath to confirm theſe Laws,* Quas vulgus elegerit, *which the Commons ſhall agree upon, and preſent unto his Majeſty.* Pag. 49.

☞ So hath *Prelacy flatter'd it ſelf, finding ſuch a party to ſtand up on it's ſide among the* * *rotten Lords and Commons,* the *debauched Gentry, and abuſed people of the Kingdom.* —— *As thy ſword Prelacy hath made many women Childleſs,* many a *faithful Miniſter peopleleſs,* (*&c.*) *So thy Mother Papacy ſhall be made childleſs among harlots,* * *your Dioceſs Biſhopleſs, and your Sees Lordleſs,* and your *Places ſhall know you no more. Come my Brethren, I ſay. and fear not to take this* ☞ * Agag (Prelacy I mean, not the Prelates) *and* * *hew it in pieces before the Lord.* Pag. 51.

None can *withdraw* from, much leſs *oppoſe* this Service, but ſuch as *bear evil will to* Sion, and would *be unwilling to ſee the ruine and downfall of Anti-chriſt, which this bleſſed Covenant doth ſo evidently threaten.* Pag. 63.

A fift Motive to quicken us to this *Duty*, may be even the *Practice* of the *Anti-chriſtian State and Kingdom; Popery hath been dextrous to propagate and ſpred it ſelf by this means.—And Prelacy* (that * *whelp*) ☞ hath

hath learned this *Policy of it's mother Papacy* that *Lioneſs*, to corrobate and raiſe it ſelf to that height we have ſeen and ſuffered, by theſe Artifices —— it being an inconſiderable number either of Miniſters, or People, (the Lord be merciful to us in this thing) that have had eyes to diſcover *the Myſtery of Iniquity which theſe men have driven.* Pag. 64. *

He that hath been a Malignant or Neutral let him be ſo no more, for I *proteſt againſt every man that after his ſtriking of this ſo Solemn and Sacred a Covenant* with the moſt high God, ſhall dare knowingly, to perſiſt in any of theſe mentioned abominations (that is, adheering to the King, &c.) he is an enemy to Jeſus Chriſt, a Traytor to the Kingdoms, a State Murderer, and a deſtroyer of himſelf and his Poſterity, and at his hands if they miſcarry God will require the blood of all theſe. *Pag.* 101.

* It brings Letters of Teſtimonial with it, &c. The *waters of this Covenant hath been a notable purgation to the Rebels there*, (*in* Scotland) it hath been a Shibboleth *to diſcover them*, and a Sword *in the hand of the Angel of the Covenant to chaſe or ſlay them.*

The walls of *Jericho* have fallen flat before it. *The* Dagon *of the Biſhops Service-Book brake it's neck before this Ark of the Covenant. Prelacy and* * *Prerogative have bowed down, and given up the Ghoſt* *at* it's *feet*; And what *changes* hath it wrought in the *Church* and *State!* what a *Reformation* hath follow'd at the *heels* of this *glorious Ordinance?* Pag. 65, 66.

Epiſt. Dedicat.

Thouſands of your Nation are preparing their Brotherly addreſſes to pay the ſame debt to the whole Kingdom, now almoſt in as great an exigence as ever the *Gibeonites* were when *their five Kings* with all their united forces were within few days march, to take a *bloody and unnatural Revenge for their entring into Covenant* with *Joſhua* onely; we beſeech you account it not our diſtruſt or jealouſie, if ſometimes you hear us complaining with the mother of *Siſera*, *Why are their chariots ſo long in coming, why ſtay the wheels of their chariots?* That is, why come not in the *Scotiſh* Army againſt the King?

Out of the Trial of Mr. *Love*, before the High-court of Juſtice in *Weſtminſter-Hall.* Printed *Aug.* 1652.

MAjor *Huntington* in his Examination as witneſs againſt *Love*, ſays thus, *pag.* 32. I was told by Major *Alford*, that *Bains* (another witneſs) told them, he was very ſorry he ſhould meddle in that buſineſs, and that *they would never proſper that had any thing to do with him* (*meaning the King*) *for that the ſins of him and his father were ſo great.*

Mr. *Love* told *Adams* a Witneſs againſt him, thus,

That *if the Presbyterians were in Arms again, by the bleſsing of God, the Cavaleering party might be prevented from getting the day.* Pag. 38.

Mr. *Love* in his defence ſays thus,

God is my witneſs, *I never drove a malignant deſign*, I never carried on a malignant intereſt, I deteſt both; *I ſtill retain my old Covenanting Principles*, from which through the grace of God I will never depart, for any terror or perſwaſion whatſoever, &c.

I do *retain as great a keeneſs, and ſhall whileſt I live, and as ſtrong an oppoſition againſt a malignant intereſt, whether in* Scotland *or in* England *or in any part* of the world, againſt the Nation where I live, and have to this day, as ever I did in former times.

I have all along engaged my eſtate and life in the Parlaments quarrel *againſt the Forces raiſed by the King. I gave my All: And I did not onely deem it my duty to Preach for the Lawfulneſs of a Defenſive War, but unleſs my books and wearing apparel, I contributed all that I had in the world.* —— I have at this day a great ſum due to me from the State, which is ſtill kept from me, and now my life endeavoured to be taken from me. *And yet for all this I repent not of what I have done*; though I could from my ſoul wiſh, that the ends of that juſt war, had been better accompliſhed, &c. *Pag.* 67.

When I was Scholar in *Oxon* and Maſter of Arts (I do not ſpeak it out of vain oſtentation, but meerly to repreſent unto you, that what I was I am, and what I am I was) I was the firſt Scholar that I know of, or ever heard of in *Oxon*, who did publikely refuſe in the Congregation-

gregation-house to subscribe unto those impositions, or Canons, imposed by the Arch-Bishop touching the Prelates & Common Prayers; And for which though they would not deny me my Degree, yet I was expelled the Congregation-house, never to sit as a member among them, &c. About the beginning of the Wars between the late King and the Parliament, I was the first Minister that I knew of in *England*, who was accused of Preaching of Treason and Rebellion, meerly for *maintaining in a Sermon in* Kent, *at* Tenerden, *the lawfulness of a defensive War*, * *at the first breaking out and irruption of our troubles.* I, &c. That have in my measure ventur'd my All, in the same quarrel that you were engaged in, and lifted up my hands in the same Covenant, that took sweet counsel together, and walked in fellowship one with another, &c.

Attourney General (*Prideaux*) in *Pag.* 102. Thus,

The Treason is in this, The *Scots* come in with intent to subvert the Government (meaning *Cromwels*) *Charles Stewart* to be made King, to subvert the Government, &c.

I have prayed unto God *many a day, and kept many a* Fast, wherein I have sought God that there might be an agreement between the King and the *Scots* upon the Interest of Religion, and *terms of the Covenant.* Pag. 125. Thus,

I die *cleaving to all those Oaths, Vows, Covenants and Protestations that were imposed by the Two Houses of Parlament, as owning them, and dying with my judgement for them*; to the Protestation the Vow and Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant. And this I tell you all, I had rather die a Covenant-keeper, than live a Covenant-breaker.

Pag. 162. Thus, I die with this perswasion, that the Presbyterial Government makes most for purity, and unity, throughout the Churches of the Saints.

Mr. Marshal

Mr. Marſhal in a Sermon before the Houſe of Peers, *Octob.* 28. 1646. On that Text *Pſal.* 8. 2. *Out of the mouth of Babes —— haſt thou ordained ſtrength —— That thou mighteſt ſtill the enemy, &c.*

HE propounds this Quære, Wherein lyes the Power which proceedeth out of the mouth of theſe Babes? His anſwer is, There are *five* things, which all are the fruit of the mouth, & by them theſe Babes have overcome the enemy and the avenger, 1. Preaching, 2. Confeſſing or Profeſſing, The Name, Truth and cauſe of God, and his Chriſt. 3. Praiſing, Singing out Praiſe, &c. 4. Praying, and 5. Covenanting. Then he brings in an Objection, If theſe be all the weapons and ſtrength whereby the Saints do overcome, why do you uſe any other means to overcome your enemies? Why reſt you not contented with this? either theſe are not all, or you are not Chriſtians, nor true to your Principles; —— Time was when *Preces* and *Lachryma*, Prayers and Tears, were all the weapons which the Church did uſe; but now when you have ſpoke all theſe things of the power of Preaching, and Praying, and Confeſſing, and Covenanting, you are glad to betake your ſelves to Arms, to ſee what they will do, to help thoſe out, whence it's apparent, you dare not reſt in theſe as ſufficient helps. To this Mr. *Marſhal* * anſwers thus, we acknowledge, that as we are *Chriſtians* (in that *capacity*; for as they diſtinguiſh'd the King into a *double Capacity*, ſo they did themſelves too, into a *natural* and a *Chriſtian capacity*, and in that Capacity, ſaith He) we uſe no other weapons than theſe we have told you of, theſe onely are proper and peculiar to us as we are *Chriſtians*; but the weapons which we enjoy as we are Chriſtians, do not deprive us of thoſe we enjoy in the capacity as *Men*. -- And we challenge in this no more than we may lawfully uſe, if we were * *Papiſts* or *Turks*, if we were *Pagans*, *Jews* or *Indians*: we challenge not this to belong to Chriſtianity, as peculiar to it, we have learn'd, that by the Law of *Nature* and *Nations*, men may defend themſelves againſt unjuſt violence;

* He makes it Lawful to do that as men, which we are forbidden to do by the Laws of Chriſtianity.

He forgets the 5 Commandment.

* Sweet incouragement.

lence; if the Turks ſhould invade a Countrey of Chriſtians, they will tell him, that as they are Chriſtians, Their *Praying* and *Profeſsing* and *Singing* & Covenanting, Theſe Spiritual weapons out of their mouth will quell them; but as they are men, they have a liberty to defend themſelves againſt him, *& vim vi repellere*; Or if a Chriſtian man were travelling upon the high way, and a Thief ſhould demand of him, how as a Chriſtian, he could defend himſelf from his Enemies; He would tell him, by Faith, by Prayer, by the word of God, by weapons out of his mouth; but if the Thief aſſault him and take his life or his purſe, as he is a man he will uſe his ſword, and Chriſtianity will ſanctifie this uſe of his ſword to him, &c. Thus Mr. *Marſhal ubi ſupra.* Pag. 27, 28.

Excellent comparisons! between ones natural Prince (to whom he hath ſworn allegeance) and a Turk, or a Thief.

And to ſecure his *Party* from fear of future vengeance, or *damnation*, threatned to the *Reſiſters* of Soveraign Authority, *Rom.* 13. 2. *He* interprets that Text, not of *the damnation of hell*, but of the *Sentence* * of the *Soveraign Power*; and that they might not be frighted with the fear of that *Temporal* Judgement neither, *He* promiſeth them *ſucceſs and victory*, in the *Name* of Almighty God, as above-ſaid.

* See Dr. *Ham.* of Reſiſting the Magiſtrate under colour of Religion.

Out of *Mr. Calamyes* Apology againſt *Mr. Burton.* 1646.

FOr my own particular I crave leave to declare to all that ſhall read theſe lines, what I have done to manifeſt my repentance, and let Maſter *Burton* then judge whether it be a repentance to be repented of, or no.

Firſt, I went to *Bury*, and there made in a Sermon, a *recantation*, *and retraction* of what I had done, in the hearing of thouſands. And this I did before the times turned againſt *Epiſcopacy*, not out of diſcontent, nor becauſe I was diſappointed of my expected preferment at Court.

Secondly, After my coming to *London* at the beginning of this *Parliament* I was one of thoſe that did joyn in making *Smectymnuus*, which was the firſt deadly blow to *Epiſcopacy* in *England* of late years.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, My houſe was a receptacle for godly Miniſters in the worſt of times: here was the *Remonſtrance* framed againſt the Prelates: here were all meetings. I was the firſt that openly before a *Committee* of *Parlament* did defend that our *Biſhops* were not onely not an *Order* diſtinct from *Presbyters*, but that in Scripture a *Biſhop* and *Presbyter* were all one. I bluſh to ſpeak of theſe things, but the judicious Reader will conſider how I am provoked to it, and will pardon me.

As for the *Service-Book*, let M. *Burton* know, that at a meeting at my houſe, it was reſolved by above a hundred Miniſters, after a long debate upon divers weighty conſiderations, that all that could in their judgements ſubmit to the reading of ſome part of it, ſhould be intreated for a while to continue ſo to do. To this our diſſenting Brethren, then preſent did agree, and one of them made a ſpeech to manifeſt his concordance. This is enough to give any man ſatisfaction for the *late* laying of it down.

Out of Mr. Jeremiah Burroughes *his ſpeech in* Guild-hall *on Friday the ſixt of* October, 1643.

A People they are (ſpeaking of the *Scots*) that began to riſe for their Liberties, when the generality of this people here, were ready baſely to bow down their backs, and put their necks under the yoke: and had it not been that they had been willing to have endured the brunt, we had all been ſlaves (it is like) at this day.

Their Liberties are ſetled, why they, though on the other ſide of *Jordan*, they are not therein ſatisfied, to ſit ſtill, but are willing to come themſelves, and come into the brunt, and hazard themſelves, for the ſetling of their brethren in the inheritance of the Lord likewiſe.

What warrant have we to take up Arms to maintain Religion? that is not at preſent to be diſcuſſed, but onely this, to ſatisfie and ſtop all their mouths with one word: Thus far none can deny it, but it is lawful to take up arms, to maintain that Civil right we have to our Religion, and this we do; For we have not onely a right to our Religion, by the Law of God, but we have a Civil right to this our Religion, that other Chriſtians have not had.

If it ſhall be ſaid, I, but a great deal is done, but to little purpoſe all this

this while; O (my brethren) ſay not ſo, it is an unthankful voyce, this, for much hath been done, there hath been a check given to the adverſary, the ſtream of tyranny and ſlavery it hath been ſtopped, your lives have all this while been preſerved by what hath been done.

Little cauſe have we to be diſcouraged, for thoſe we have to deal with, their ſpirits are baſe and vile; why ſhould we fear thoſe uncircumciſed *Philiſtines*?

If you ſay, Well, but were it not better we bent all our forces to ſome Accommodation? To that we anſwer you thus: You have to deal not onely with his Majeſty, but with a Popiſh party that are about him, and what ſecurity you can ever have of your peace, (as was worthily ſaid before) except the Scotiſh Nation comes in for to faſten it, it is eaſie for any one to judge. I will tell you but one ſtory about that, and becauſe it is ſuitable unto you, I will therefore relate it here: It is a Story that I find in the Chronicles, that in the days of King *Edward* the ſixt, King *Edward* ſends to this City for aſſiſtance againſt the Lords; and the Lords ſend to the City for their aſſiſtance likewiſe; and the Common-Councel was called, (I ſuppoſe in this place,) and there ſtands up, as the ſtory ſaith, a wiſe diſcreet Citizen, in the Common-Councel, and makes this ſpeech unto them; Firſt, he acknowledges that the cauſe was right for the Lords, for the Kingdom, though it were againſt the will of the King, becauſe the King would not then put in execution thoſe Laws that ſhould be, but hindered them, but yet (ſaith he) let me remind you of that that I have read in *Fabians* Chronicle, (it was one *George Stadley* that ſtood up, let me remind you of that) when there was a fight between the Lords and the King, the *Lords* ſend for aſſiſtance to the City, the City granted their aſſiſtance, the Lords prevailed, the King was taken, and his Son a Priſoner; afterwards they were both releaſed upon Compoſition, and amongſt other things, this was one, that howſoever the City ſhould be preſerved, that the City ſhould ſuffer nothing for what they had done; and this Compoſition was confirmed by Act of Parlament, but (ſaith this Citizen) what came of it? did the King forgive? No, nor forget, for afterwards all our Liberties were taken away, ſtrangers were ſet over us, for our Heads and Governours; the bodies and the eſtates of the Citizens were given away, and one miſery followed after another; and ſo we were moſt miſerably perſecuted; and here was their Accommodation.

Have not many of you ſpent your blood in this Cauſe, yea, how many young ones in this City have loſt their blood? Me-thinks a ſpirit of indignation ſhould riſe in you, to vindicate the loſs of the blood of your

Servants and Children, many precious ones, that might have lived many years, to have done good ſervice for the Lord.

Know there ſhall come a day, wherein you ſhall be calling and crying to God for mercy; the ſucceſs of this evenings work will be recorded againſt that day, when you ſhall cry for mercy.

Out of Mr. Obadiah Sedgewick *his Speech in* Guildhall *on Friday the ſixt of* October, 1643.

I Know many Objections might be made; You have done much already, and the ſum is great; I ſay no more, There is nothing great, to a mind that is great, and the Cauſe is great, and though the ſum of money be great, yet their love is greater, than all you can lay out to anſwer their love; And ſay not (grumbling) we have done often and often; I ſay to you, as Chriſt ſaid to him that asked him, How often muſt I forgive my brother? Why, ſeventy times ſeven times; So will I ſay for this publique Cauſe, you muſt do, and you muſt do, and yet you muſt do, and yet you muſt do, as long as there is a penny in thy purſe, as long as there is ſtrength in thy hand, as long as there is breath in thy body, you muſt be all Servants to Chriſt, and Servants to the Churches of Jeſus Chriſt.

The Independents Concluſions from the Presbyterian Principles. Mr. *John Dury*'s Conſiderations concerning the preſent Engagement; with Mr. *Caryl's* Imprimatur, *An. Dom.* 1649.

THe Oath of Allegiance, as you know, did bind all men as Subjects in Law, to be true and faithful to the Kings Perſon, to his Heirs and Succeſſors, as they were inveſted with the authority which the Law did give them: nor was it ever meant by the Parlament which Enacted the Oath of Allegiance, that any ſhould be abſolutely bound to the King and his

his Heirs, as they were men, to be true and faithful to their Perſonal Wills; but onely to them and their Wills, as they had a Legal ſtanding: that is, to the Authority conferred upon them by the conſent of the People, which was teſtified in and under a Law; whereunto the King and his Heirs were bound for the Kingdoms good by Oath. So that the Obligations of King and Subjects are mutual, and muſt needs ſtand and fall together, according as the condition by which they are begotten is kept or broken; which is nothing elſe but the Law, according to which he and his Subjects agree, that he ſhall be their King, and they ſhall be his Subjects. For as you were ſworn to the King, ſo he was ſworn to you; as you were bound to be faithful to him, ſo he was bound to be faithful to his truſt; nor is he your Liege further than he is faithful thereunto. If then he be found unfaithful to his truſt, you are *ipſo facto* abſolved from your Allegiance unto him; and if, according to Law, he receives not his Authority, you are not in Law his Subjects at all. Now the juſt and natural foundation of all Laws, is the Reaſon of the Body of every Nation in their Parliament, which hath the ſole Right to propoſe and chuſe the Laws by which they will be Ruled. Where it hath been (as I ſuppoſe) a perpetual cuſtom in this Nation, for the Commons at all times, to ask and propoſe the making of Laws; and for the Lords and King to give their conſent thereunto: The Lords as the *Judges* in caſes of tranſgreſſion, and the King as the Executor and publick Truſtee for the adminiſtration of the common good and wealth thereby; for in a Kingdom there is a Common-wealth, as the intrinſical ſubſtance of the Being thereof; for which all things are to be done by King and Lords, as the publick ſervants thereof; and Miniſters not Maſters of State therein. If the King then ſhould ſet himſelf wilfully to be above this Reaſon of the Nation, which is the onely Original of the Law, and refuſe obſtinately the Laws which they ſhall chuſe to be ſetled, he puts himſelf *ipſo facto*, out of the capacity of being a King any more unto them; and if this can be made out, to have been the way wherein the late King ſet himſelf, and that it was the deſign of the Houſe of Lords, to uphold and enable him to follow that way, it is evident, that ſo far as he did by that means actually un-King himſelf, as to this Nation, ſo far alſo they that aſſiſted him in that deſign, did un-Lord themſelves in the State thereof; and if this was the guilt of the Houſe of Lords, by other practices and proceedings more than by an indifferencie and compliance with the *Hamiltonian* invaſion, to help the King to ſuch a power, I know not what to anſwer for them.

It is then undeniable that the third Article of that National Covenant, was never meant by thoſe that made it, or that took it, to be oppo-

ſite to the ſenſe of the Oath of Allegiance, but altogether agreeable thereunto. What then the meaning of that Article is, muſt needs alſo be the true ſenſe of the Oath of Allegiance. That Article then doth oblige you, to preſerve the Right and Privileges of the Parlament, and the Liberties of the Kingdom in your Calling, abſolutely and without any limitation; but as for the Kings perſon and Authority, it doth oblige you onely thereunto, conditionally, and with a limitation; *Namely, in the preſervation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of this Kingdom.* If then the King did not give to the Repreſentatives of the Nation that aſſurance which was ſatisfactory and neceſſary that their Religion and Liberties ſhould be preſerved, none of his Subjects were bound either by their Allegiance or Covenant, to defend his perſon and the Authority which was conferred upon him. The Oath of Allegiance therefore was bottomed upon the Laws, which the Repreſentatives of the Nation in Parlament had choſen to be obſerved concerning their Religion, and the Liberties of the Kingdom; which he refractorily either caſting off, or ſeeming to yield unto, in ſuch a way that no truſt could be given him, that he would keep what he yielded unto; the Parlament did actually lay him aſide, and voted, that no more Addreſſes ſhould be made unto him, from which time forward he was no more an object of your Oath of Allegiance, but to be look'd upon as a Private man: and your Oath by which you were engaged to be true and faithful to the Law, by which the Religion and Liberty of the Kingdom was to be preſerved, did ſtill remain in force: which if it may be the true ſubſtantial ſenſe of the preſent Engagement, which you think is contradictory to this Oath and to the National Covenant, then you are to look well to it, that you be not miſtaken; for to an indifferent eye, it may be thought ſo far from being oppoſite to the true ſenſe of either, that it may be rather a confirmation of the ground, for which both the Oath of Allegiance, and the third Article of the National Covenant was then binding.

And then alſo this I am confident of, to be able to let you ſee further, that although you may think that the effect of this Engagement is materially contrary to ſome intention which you had in the third Article of the Covenant; yet that by the Act of the Engagement, you are ſo far from breaking your Covenant, that except you take it, and obſerve it faithfully, you will not onely materially, but formally break that very Article of the Covenant, for which you ſcruple the taking of the Engagement.

For the words muſt be taken in the ſenſe which they can directly bear, and which do impart the main end for which the Covenant was taken; for the main end of this very Article whereof you make a ſcruple, was evidently

dently to preſerve the Parlament and Common-wealth for it ſelf, and (if need ſo required) alſo without the King.

Now this is that which the Engagement doth directly alſo require; for which cauſe I ſay, that by vertue of this very promiſe, you are bound to take the preſent Engagement; and if you take it not, that you make your ſelf a tranſgreſſor of that very Article which you pretend to keep; for if you refuſe to be true and faithful to the Common-wealth as it is now eſtabliſhed, you do what in you lyeth to make the remaining Knights of Parlament, and the beginnings of our ſettlement void; which though at firſt it was not intended to be without a King, yet it was cleerly preſuppoſed in the Article it ſelf, as poſſible to be without him, and conſequently, that although he ſhould not be, yet that the Common-wealth by the Rights of Parlament and the Liberties of the Nation ſhould be preſerved, which is all that now is ſought for by the Engagement.

Where you may take notice, that although you and I as private men, ought not to make our ſelves judges of the rights which ſuperiors pretend to have, in and to their places; yet that they are not without a Judicature over them in thoſe places, for the ſubordinate Officers belonging to a State, are bound to judge of the Rights of thoſe that are over them; both by which they ſtand in their places of Supremacy, and by which they proceed in their actings toward Subjects, leſt they be made the inſtruments of Arbitrary power and tyranny, and then alſo the law-making power, which in all Nations reſides by the Law of Nature in the convention of the Repreſentatives of the whole body of the people (whether it be made up of the heads of families, or of choſen Deputies, who are intruſted with a delegated power from all the reſt) doth make or unmake Rights, in all places and perſons within it ſelf, as it from time to time doth ſee cauſe.

"HAving thus ſurveyed the dangerous Poſitions and Principles of the "Presbyterians & their brethren, that it may be evident to the world "that the enemies of our Church, are equally enemies to our Monarchy, it "will not be amiſs to lay down ſome of the Principles of the *Papiſts* and the "*Hobbians*. In which not to multiply citations, we will, for one of the firſt of "theſe take father *White*, who is counted the moſt moderate of them, in his "Book Intitled the *Grounds of Obedience and Government*; And for the next "Mr. *Hobbs* himſelf, in his Books, one called *Leviathan*, and the other *de* "*Cive*, which he ſo magnifies, that he affirms that part of Philoſophy to "which the handling of the Elements of Government and Civil Societies "belongs, is no older than that Book.

Of

Of the diſpoſſeſsion of a Supreme former Governour, and of his Right, by Mr. *White* a Romaniſt, pag. 132. &c. in His Grounds of Obedience, &c.

NOw, our Queſtion ſuppoſeth the Governour not to have come to that extremity: but, either to have been good or innocent: or that it is doubtful whether his exceſſes deſerved expulſion: or, at leaſt, if they did deſerve it of themſelves, yet the circumſtances were not fitting for it; but the expulſion hapned either by the invaſion of a ſtranger, or the ambition of a Subject, or ſome popular headleſs tumult; for, theſe three ways a Magiſtrate comes, forcibly and unjuſtly, to be outed of his power.

And firſt, if the Magiſtrate have truly deſerved to be diſpoſſeſſed; or it be rationally doubted that he hath deſerved it, and he be actually out of poſſeſſion: In the former caſe it is certain, the Subject hath no obligation to hazard for his reſtitution, but rather to hinder it: For, ſince it is the common good that both the Magiſtrate and the Subject are to aim at; and clearly, out of what is expreſſed, it is the common harm, to admit again of ſuch a Magiſtrate; every one, to his power, is bound to reſiſt him.

The next caſe is, if he be innocent and wrongfully depos'd, may let us add, One who had governed well and deſerved much of the Common-wealth: yet he is totally diſpoſſeſs'd; and ſo, that, it is plain, in theſe circumſtances, it were better for the common good to ſtay as they are, than to venture the reſtoring him, becauſe of the publick hazard. It is clear, in this caſe, there is compariſon between the general good of the Common-wealth, on the one ſide, and the particular of this man or family on the other. Let us, then, put the caſe on his part; and ſee, If he be generous, if he hath ſetled in his heart that every ſingle man ought to prefer the Common Intereſt before his particular ſafety, profit, or honour; if he be fit for a Governour, that is, one that is to eſpouſe the common good as his own individual; what he will, in honour and conſcience, reſolve: whether he be not obliged abſolutely to renounce all right and claim to Government; and, if he does not, he be not worſe than an Infidel: For, if he that hath no care of his Domeſticks, be reputed ſo; with how much more reaſon, he that is ready to plunge a whole Nation in blood, for his own Intereſt?

Let us caſt the accounts on the other ſide; and ſee, that the Subjects aim

aim ought to be the publique peace, and quiet enjoyment of their lives and intereſts: It will appear that, if he be bound to renounce his claim, they cannot be oblig'd to maintain it: and beſides, that they are wilfully blind, if, where the whole concernments of themſelves, their wives and children, lie at the ſtake, they will venture all for an aereal fancy, without regard to the *end* of Government, publick peace; meerly for the *means*, this mans Government, without whom the End may be obtain'd. It cannot, therefore, be rational on either ſide, for a diſpoſſeſs'd Governour to be reſtor'd with hazard.

But, the capital in this matter is, that truly there is no juſtice on either the Magiſtrates or Peoples ſide, to bind to the reſtoring him: both theſe depending on the promiſe made, and the force of the promiſe being none, ſince the ground of it is changed. For, the ſubſtance of the promiſe made to a Magiſtrate, is, To obey him as a Magiſtrate, that is, as far as is fitting for the Common-wealth and peace; he being nothing but the inſtrument of the common good: Now, take away that fitneſs for the Common-wealth, and that which gave ſtrength to the promiſe is gone, and the promiſe it ſelf is no more a promiſe, nor can any obligation ariſe from it. Who knows not, that the promiſe of any man depends on his intention, his intention on his knowledge, his knowledge reacheth no farther than his conſideration and preſent memory when he maketh the promiſe? So that, in nature, a promiſe reacheth onely to preſuppoſed and thought on circumſtances: and who, when he ſweareth to a Magiſtrate, expecteth to ſee him diſpoſſeſſed and turned off?

So that, this is manifeſt, a Magiſtrate actually diſpoſſeſſed hath no right to be reſtored, nor the Subject any obligation to ſeek to reſtore, but oppoſe him. For, what is man, or rather mankind (for, ſo we have ſtyled a nation) better than a herd of ſheep or oxen, if it be to be owned, like them, by maſters? What difference is there between their Maſters ſelling them to the Butcher, and obliging them to venture their lives and livelyhoods for his private Intereſt? We know it is natural, that the part ſhould venture for the whole; but that the whole ſhould venture the loſs of it ſelf to ſave the part, I cannot underſtand. The Governour is the higheſt and nobleſt part, yet but a part; the People is the whole, the End, (though not by office, yet by worth and dignity) the Maſter and Lord, for whom thoſe who are Lords by office are to be veſted and deveſted in Lordſhip, when it is neceſſary for the common good. Who thinks otherwiſe, deſerves not the name of a man.

The

Of a Supreme Governour diſpoſſeſſed, pag. 147. *&c.* Mr. *Whites* Grounds of Obedience, *&c.*

WHen the ſtructure of the Common-wealth is diſſolved, that is, diſjoynted from him, then any who hath ſuffered wrong in the fore-declared manner may be party againſt him and proceed as if there were no Common-wealth; by the Law, which, in a Wilderneſs, warranteth us to kill a Tyger or Robber that ſeeketh to kill us, not pretending Law for our action, but that it is manlike and rational. Neither ought it be called puniſhment that is done againſt a diſpoſſeſſed Magiſtrate, but rather revenge, or ſome other name that includeth no order to Law.

We muſt proceed upon other principles, that is, the forelaid and main *baſis* of our diſcourſe, that the common good ought to be the rule of the Magiſtrates Title, and the Subjects Obedience.

Out of which this followeth, that when ever (conſidering all things) the common good is cleerly on the poſſeſſors ſide, then the diſpoſſeſſed hath no claim. Neither ought we expect till we have aſſurance, that it will not be better for the ſubject if the late owner (after great dangers,) gaineth his former power: For, firſt, this it ſelf is uncertain; ſecondly, the ſucceſs of endeavours to reſtore him muſt be hazardous; thirdly, many and great miſchiefs, during the time of the attempt, are altogether unavoidable; and all this to be ballanced againſt thoſe uncertain hopes. Nor, again, muſt we expect that the wills of all the Subjects concur, actually, to the acceptance of the new Governour: For that is either impoſſible, or of ſo long expectation, as to ruine all by diſſenſions and jealouſies in the mean time: Nay, the vulgar ſort are ſo eaſily led by fancy, that they underſtand not the common good, nor what they ſhould wiſh.

But you may demand, How ſhall it be known when the common good holdeth it ſelf on the poſſeſſour's hand? I anſwer, we muſt firſt ſee who are the common, whoſe welfare is to be preferred before private intereſts. And preſently it appeareth that, dividing the whole people into Governours and governed; the governed part is the Publick to whoſe good the Governours are to direct their paines: And that theſe are they that ſpend their lives in ſeeking their own profits, either by improving the Land, or in Arts and Handicrafts: Whence, it followes, when their good ſtands on the poſſeſſours ſide, then cleerly he begins to gain right and power; and this is plain to be, when the Merchant, the Husbandman, and Tradeſman, with their appendices, are in an undiſturbed practice of their functions, and begin to be afraid of change upon the noiſe of an invaſion.

This

This reſolution could not be doubted, were it not that one might object, That what is ſaid ſeems true, abſtracting from circumſtances; but it ought to be conſidered, that ſuch men ſee nothing but the outward appearances of what paſſes in humane negotiations, and ſo there may many circumſtances lye hidden from them, which would make them think or wiſh otherwiſe if they knew them: As, for example, home-diſcontents and forein conſpiracies; which if underſtood, would make theſe honeſt men preferr a war, after which there is to follow a peace far exceeding the preſent quiet, and ſuch a one as deſerves the intervening diſturbance and damages.

And indeed, I allow theſe men underſtand not ſuch myſteries of State, nor penetrate the value of the hazard: But, if they do not, why are they not alſo exempted from engaging on thoſe motives? and then the reſt of the Common-wealth will be but ſo many private men, who muſt follow the common. Again, if they think themſelves well, they manifeſtly conſent to the preſent Government, and therefore cut off the title of the diſpoſſeſſed Governour. Beſides, who can anſwer they ſhall be better by the return of the diſpoſſeſſed party? ſurely, by common preſumption, the gainer is like to defend them better than he who loſt it.

But what if an open Enemy ſhould come, could or ought the Subjects joyn againſt him with their new Magiſtrate? If not, the whole publick muſt periſh: If they may, then the caſe is the ſame againſt their old Magiſtrate; ſince his right ſtood upon the common peace, and that is tranſferr'd from him to his rivall by the title of quiet poſſeſſion.

The Authority of Lawyers inſufficient in this Queſtion.

NO Laws made by the power or agreement of men, can judge betwixt Subject and Soveraign, in diſpute of the common good and Government; but only the Tribunals of God and Nature, or Divinity and the ſcience of Politicks: And therefore, the maximes of Law have no force in theſe queſtions; Now, if Princes loſe their pretences by the force of Nature, it is ridiculous for private men to build hopes, upon rotten titles of ages long paſſed, upon weak maximes of Law, after Nature, by her revolutions, hath caſt all Law and moral acts and agreements.

"NOw as the malignity & poyſon of theſe anti-monarchical aſſertions "render this Author a very unfit Preſcriber of political Principles & "rules of government & ſubjection to the reſt of mankind; ſo circumſtance "of their writing & Publication (they being publiſhed when *Cromwell* was "in poſſeſſion of the Government, and the King diſpoſſeſſed, and in Baniſh-"ment) makes them look ſo like a publick diſwaſion of the People to en-"deavour the reſtauration of his *Majeſty* (who by his Principles ought to "have renounced his title to the Government,) that we leave it to the "World to judge whether ſuch a man, unleſs he repent, and renounce theſe "wicked aſſertions, be worthy of his Majeſties protection, being reſtored to "that Government to which, he affirms, that the Subjects ought not to en-"deavour to reſtore their Prince, being once (though never ſo unjuſtly) "diſpoſſeſſed.

Out of Biſhop Bramhall's *Book againſt Mr.* Hobs, *call'd,* The Catching of the Leviathan.

Hobs *his Lev. p.* 114. THE Obligation of a Subject to the Soveraign, laſteth no longer, than the power by which he is able to protect him, *Bramhall*, p. 517.

Lev. When in a war forein or inreſtine the Enemies get a final victory, ſo as (the forces of the Common-wealth keeping the field no longer,) there is no protection of Subjects in their Loyaltie, then is the Common-wealth diſſolved, and every man at liberty to protect himſelf by ſuch courſes as his own diſcretion ſhall ſuggeſt to him, p. 517.

Le. p. 190. He that hath no obligation to his former Soveraign, but that of an ordinary Subject, hath liberty to ſubmit to a Conquerour, when the means of his life is within the guards and garriſons of his enemy, for it is then that he hath no longer protection from him. And concludeth,--That their total ſubmiſſion is as lawfull as a Contribution, p. 518.

Le. p. 137. That they who live under the protection of a Conquerour, openly are underſtood to ſubmit to his Government: And that in the Act of receiving protection openly, and not renouncing it openly, they do oblige themſelves to obey the Laws of their Protector, to which in receiving protection, they have aſſented, p. 518.

If

Hobs *de Civ. C.* 7. *Sect.* 18. If the Common-wealth come into the power of its enemies, ſo that they cannot be reſiſted, he who had the ſoveraignty before, is underſtood to have loſt it, p. 517.

Ci. C. 6. *Sect.* 3. Security is the end for which men make themſelves ſubjects to others, which if he injoy not, his ſubjection ceaſeth, and he loſeth not right to defend himſelf at his own diſcretion; neither is any man underſtood to have bound himſelf to any thing, or to have relinquiſhed his right over all things, before his own ſecurity be provided for, p. 513.

Ci. C. 13. *Sect.* 5. It is manifeſt, that they do againſt Conſcience, and with the eternal damnation of their Subjects, who do not cauſe ſuch doctrine, and ſuch worſhip to be exhibited to them, as they themſelves do believe to conduce to their ſalvation, or tolerate the contrary to be taught and exhibited, p. 514.

Ci. C. 2. *Sect.* 18. No man is bound by his pacts, whatſoever they be, not to reſiſt him, who bringeth upon him death or wounds, or any bodily damage, p. 514.

Le. p. 112. Seeing no man is bound to impoſſibilities, they who are to ſuffer corporal damage, and are not conſtant enough to endure it, are not obliged to ſuffer it. And more fully,-- In caſe a great many men together have rebelled, or committed ſome other capital crime, for which every one of them expecteth death, whether have not they the liberty to joyn together and aſſiſt and defend one another? Certainly they have, for they do but defend their lives with the guilty, as well as the innocent may do. There was indeed injuſtice in their firſt breach of duty, their bearing Arms ſubſequent to it, though to maintain what they have done, is no unjuſt Act, p. 514.

FINIS.